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NEW TIMES



GORBACHEV: WE SHALL NOT ABANDON OUR PEACE POLICY

(Television speech, October 14)

ICELAND

In 874 Ingolfur Arnarson, a Norwegian Viking, alighted from his ship onto an unfamiliar island, climbed up a hill and saw a bay packed with broken ice-floes. "A land of ice! Iceland!" he exclaimed.

Iceland is Europe's second largest island. It is situated at the junction of the Atlantic and Arctic oceans and is a land of fire as well as ice. Concentrated there are over 100 volcanoes (28 of them active) and innumerable hot springs squirting up even from under the ice. The biggest Icelandic volcano, Hekla, was well known back in the Middle Ages. The Catholic Church regarded it, in all seriousness, as the breath of hell. Geysers the world over own their name to the Great Geyser in Haukadalur Valley. The highest waterfall in Europe, the Dettifoss, is found in the north of Iceland, and the beautiful Golden Waterfall (Gullfoss)—in its south.

As early as in 930, the chiefs of the colonists who had moved in from Nor-

way, Scotland, Ireland and the Faeroes established Europe's first parliament, the Althing. Shortly afterwards, however, the republic was overrun by Norwegian conquerors. In 1380 the island was absorbed by the Kingdom of Denmark. The country finally got its independence in 1944.

On October 11 and 12 Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, was the venue of the Soviet-American summit.

Seydisfjörður, an east-coast port.



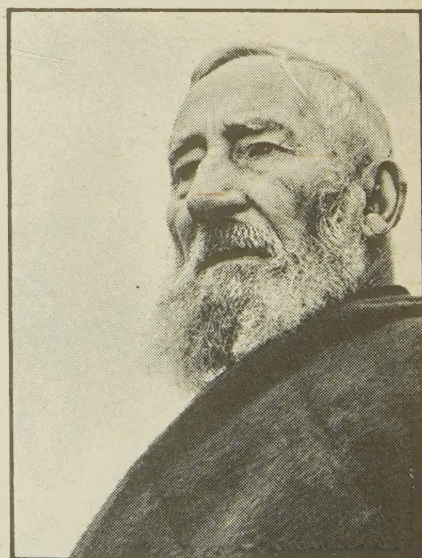
The monument to Ingolfur Arnarson, the discoverer of Iceland, in Reykjavik.



The port of Siglufjörður.



The geyser valley in Namaskard.



An Icelandic seaman.

Excerpts from Mikhail Gorbachev's Speech over Soviet Television, October 14

We sought to lay the emphasis at the meeting in Reykjavik on the main issues of world politics—the termination of the arms race and on nuclear disarmament. And, strictly speaking, this was done.

A whole package of major measures was laid on the negotiating table—measures which, had they been adopted, would have ushered in a new epoch in the life of mankind—the non-nuclear epoch. This is the essence of the cardinal breakthrough in the world situation that was an obvious and real possibility.

● On Strategic Armaments

The reduction by 50 per cent in the course of five years of the entire triad of strategic offensive armaments—land-based strategic missiles, submarine-based strategic missiles, and strategic bombers—and the total elimination in the course of ten years of these most deadly of all weapons. The Soviet side made serious concessions: it withdrew its demand that medium-range missiles, and also forward-based weaponry, be included in strategic armaments.

● On Medium-Range Missiles

Total elimination of the American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe, leaving the nuclear potential of Britain and France out of count. Given the total elimination of the medium-range missiles of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in Europe, the Soviet Union would agree to limit the number of warheads on its medium-range missiles in the eastern part of the U.S.S.R. to 100, while the United States would be permitted to have an equal number of such missiles on its territory.

As regards missiles with a range of less than 1,000 kilometres it was proposed to freeze them and to enter into talks on what to do with them.

● On ABM and the Prohibition of Nuclear

Tests

The preservation and strengthening of the ABM treaty of unlimited duration with a mutual commitment not to exercise the right to withdraw from it during the next ten years. Strict observance throughout this period of all the provisions of the treaty, and prohibition of the development and testing of components of space ABM systems in outer space. Research and testing to be confined to laboratories.

The Soviet side proposed entering immediately after the Reykjavik meeting into full-scale talks with a view to the drafting of an agreement on the total and final prohibition of nuclear explosions. During the preparation of such

an agreement—here, too, we displayed flexibility and took a constructive stand—specific questions relating to nuclear tests could be concurrently resolved.

● The Soviet Position on Verification

If both countries embark on nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union will take a more stringent stand on verification. It must be real, comprehensive, and convincing. It must make for certainty of the strict observance of the agreement and include on-the-spot inspection.

Mikhail Gorbachev said:

As regards strategic offensive weapons and medium-range missiles the possibility of beginning to draft an agreement appeared.

In this situation the ABM treaty acquired key significance. Its role became more important than ever.

The ten years during which the right to withdraw from the ABM treaty would not be exercised are essential in order to assure that, while resolving arms reduction problem we would be ensuring the security of each of the sides, and of the whole world, for that matter.

The Americans, however, clearly had something else in mind. We could see that the U.S. actually wanted to weaken the ABM treaty, to revise it with a view to working out a large-scale space ABM system in pursuance of their own egoistic ends. It would clearly have been irresponsible on my part to agree to this. . . .

Our impression was that the main hitch was SDI. . . . SDI would mean carrying weapons to a new medium, which would destabilize the strategic situation, make it even worse than it is today. . . .

After Reykjavik it is plainer than ever to all that the notorious SDI is a symbol of obstruction to the cause of peace, the concentrated expression of militarist schemes, of unwillingness to remove the nuclear threat hanging over mankind. It cannot be regarded as anything else. This is the main lesson to be drawn from the meeting in Reykjavik.

That meeting was a major event. A reappraisal has taken place. A qualitatively different situation has been created. . . . The meeting . . . paved the way to a possible step forward, towards a real turn for the better, provided the U.S. adopts at long last a realistic stance and rids itself of chimeras in its appraisals.

It convinces us of the correctness of the course we have chosen, of the necessity and constructiveness of new political thinking in the nuclear age.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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TWO DAYS AT HÖFDI VILLA

From our special correspondent

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

"We are letting a historic chance slip out of our hands," Mikhail Gorbachev told President Reagan during their fourth unplanned three-hour round. The President was unresponsive. The summit, so near to a successful outcome equal to a major breakthrough towards nuclear disarmament, culminated in disheartening uncertainty. Everything is still possible, but not now, not here in Reykjavik. It all depends on what the Americans glean from the experience gained.

Agreement Was Near

"Despite the highly significant concessions on our part we failed to agree.... The Americans came here with empty hands, with that mothballed assortment that has been choking the Geneva talks.... We felt very greatly at this meeting a lack of the new way of thinking. Again there rose up before us that phantom of the race for military superiority." Such is the Soviet leader's assessment of the result of the two-day Soviet-American summit.

At his news conference right afterwards, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that with a restrained fervour, convinced that the position adopted was right and that everything had been done to achieve success. Unfortunately, the negotiating partners proved to be not up to the mark! Yet it was clear that no boats have been burnt and that there is no need to be pessimistic. Everything notwithstanding, the summit demonstrated that accommodations are possible. All the more necessary hence are strenuous efforts and vigorous actions by all sane thinking forces.

Evolved during the two-day summit were solutions in principle for the reduction and abolition of strategic weaponry and for medium-range missiles. The two sides had come close to working out a formula for full-scale talks on the nuclear test stoppage problem. All this was due to the radical proposals put forward by the Soviet Union, which had done much to meet the West halfway. However, at the eleventh hour the Americans spiked the accommodations, all because they genuflect to "star wars" and seek to keep this sacred cow of U.S. politics completely intact.

Time dragged wearisomely as we waited for the news conference to begin. However, it was put off again and again. Meanwhile all that could be

seen on TV screens was the mute picture of closed doors behind which politics were going their mysterious ways. The two days of the summit, which 2,000 newsmen had flocked from afar to cover, seemed to pass with maddening slowness. All we knew was that the summit was taking place. The thick veil of a blackout blanketed the talks and time seemed to stand still. All of a sudden a whirlwind blew up.

That though is not how to part with Reykjavik. We witnessed a contradictory highlight, which will leave its imprint on history. I shall now try to retrace the ambiance and logic.

Pre-Summit Reykjavik

In this city of a hundred thousand there are signs of the upcoming summit everywhere. Shopwindows display posters and picture cards portraying the two leaders and announcements of the summit in English and Russian. The top sales novelty is a muffler of Icelandic wool with ends dyed the colours of the Soviet and U.S. flags. Most cabs have been hired in advance. Newspapers appealed to the local population not to dine out, and yield restaurant priority to the roughly four thousand visitors—which, incidentally, was playing it a bit too cautiously.

One more instance of locals having to sacrifice custom. For twenty years now Iceland's TV screens are blank on Thursdays, it being held that viewers should take a rest from the box and spend the time more profitably reading, playing chess, or being with the family. Incidentally, several years ago TV screens did not light up for the whole months of July; now, as you see, it is only one day a week. Moreover, the dominance of foreign films that undermine the country's national identity worries Icelanders. Yet on October 9, a Thursday, screens lit up to afford Icelanders the opportunity of watching Air Force One, the Presidential plane, land in wind and rain on the runway of the Keflavik base and of seeing the American visitor, shielding nose in the collar of his light-toned bulky buttoned-up overcoat, trip down the gangway with his customary light step, which now causes him increasing difficulty, rush through the formalities, and, with no statements, dive into the interior of a black limousine.

Mikhail Gorbachev flew in a day later. What he said at the airfield represented a goodwilled energetic in-

itation to undertake a serious effort.

One more sidelight about TV, that ubiquitous intruder of today. Finding myself with a moment to spare outside Hallgrímskirkja, so reminiscent of an immense sky-piercing organ, I thought to step inside. However, the door was locked. I knocked to find out that the person who answered was not a sextan, nor even an Icelander, but a Norwegian TV technician. Towards the close of this month, after the 43-year-long saga of popular construction, this church will open God willing; meanwhile in occupation are three teams from Norwegian, Icelandic and BBC television, who deployed their transmitters right under the bells in the belfry.

From the 70-metre height one obtains a panoramic view of sky and sea that seem cut of the same steel-grey stuff, but in patchwork. The colourful roofs and walls of the squat, relatively new houses only serve to accentuate this pristine serene murkiness.

The first thing that catches the eye is the white-and-blue eight-storey hotel, named, of course, the Hotel Saga, which is where the Soviet group has taken up residence and our press centre is located. The Americans fancied the Hotel Löftleidir, at the edge of the local flying field.

Of the two Soviet ships at the quayside, the Baltika and the Georg Ot, it is the latter that Mikhail Gorbachev chose as headquarters. President Reagan preferred to stay at the U.S. Ambassador's house on Laufasvegur Street.

It is almost impossible to spot Government House from above. This modest gabled two-storey house has nothing official about it, though Iceland's Prime Minister and President have their offices there. Entrance is free and no formalities are observed.

Nor can the Höfði Villa be glimpsed in this bird's eye view, though today, as locale of the summit, it is in the focus of attention. Housed beneath its tiled roof are two white-walled floors and an attic whose silhouette is reminiscent of the tall conical headdress that maidens wore in northern Europe in olden times. This wooden house, put up at the start of the century, was thus named by one of its first owners. True, it has changed hands more than once and has undergone alterations and repairs since. Two of the celebrities who stayed there were Marlene Dietrich and Sir Winston Churchill. Rumour has it

that there is even a ghost, a sure sign of its aristocratic tone. Icelanders are fond of ghosts and phantoms and believe—well, almost—that they really exist. Those in the know say Icelanders have fourteen different words to designate ghosts and phantoms for every possible contingency, as it were. At any rate, today this house, whose windows look seawards, and whose steps lead down to a large green lawn, has been taken over by the city council. These two days in October are Höfði Villa's big time. But will it resound to the march of history?

The answer is what we were waiting for. But meanwhile we had other questions. The first is:

Why Iceland?

In his letter to President Reagan Mikhail Gorbachev offered two options for a meeting place, Britain or Iceland. The Americans did not choose Britain. So why Iceland? It is halfway between Moscow and Washington, implying that geographically it is most suitable. Then its quiet seclusion stressed the working nature of the summit. The U.S. news media emphasized further the simplicity of guaranteeing safety due to the patriarchal mode of life and the circumstance that terrorism has thus far bypassed this land, whose island character facilitates entrance control.

Nor was politics against this choice. Though Iceland is the U.S.A.'s NATO ally, it maintains traditionally well-balanced relations with the Soviet Union. Its vigorous commercial contacts, with Icelandic fish exchanged for Soviet oil products and motorcars, the reciprocated sympathies in the cultural area, manifest in admiration for the priceless national heritage and the keen notice taken of present-day achievements in literature, painting and the theatre, and finally, the beautiful background it offers for a meeting that may be well termed morally historic.

There are some respects in which Iceland's experience is unique. It has known no wars for a thousand years now. The annals have preserved the memory of the biggest battle ever fought—on August 21, 1238, in which 56 people were killed. One famous Icelander proudly noted: "We have not a single national hero in armour, yet we have many with pen in hand. We defended ourselves and won, wielding pen as sword." Despite the large U.S. Air Force base Iceland has no army of its own, while the base personnel try to keep out of the way of the local population.

Yet I think the most curious view I heard came from Iceland President Vigdís Finnbogadóttir herself, who in a New Times interview said: "Geologically, you know, Iceland is in a peculiar position as we stand on the very edge

of the earth's plate that underlies the Atlantic and serves, as it were, as border between West and East, which the never ending volcanic activity only confirms." She regards this as a fine symbol, with her country binding and articulating continents.

Interviewing the President

"We are a peaceful land and perhaps our way of life will leave its imprint on the discussions between the two leaders," Mrs Finnbogadóttir said.

Icelanders call her simply President Vigdís. On the eve of the Soviet-American summit I was talking with her in her stylish office which is behung with canvases by Icelandic painters. Dazzling white glaciers, Europe's biggest, under which hot geysers rumble. Or fantastic lava fields; no wonder U.S. astronauts underwent training there when preparing for their Moonshot. The natural scenery is indeed an endless source of inspiration for artists of every trend.

Though news of the summit was announced in Moscow, Washington and Reykjavik simultaneously at 14.00 GMT on September 30, the inquiry had been placed with the Iceland government earlier. I asked Mrs Finnbogadóttir how. In a very diplomatic way, she said.

"The Soviet ambassador and then the U.S. ambassador called on our Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister as usual informed me as the head of state."

The first reaction?

"The Icelanders are by nature hospitable, and that we have in common with the people of your country. We willingly undertook to host this extremely important meeting hoping that the results will be positive. The whole world entertains that hope," she said.

"All we earth people wish to see something positive to look forward to," she observed. "We wish our children to have hope, and not despair, not to dread catastrophe."

The Iceland president is a charming youngish 56. A Sorbonne graduate, she is fluent in both French and English. In the spring of 1973, as a theatre manager she spent, as she says, several wonderful days in Moscow. She has high praise for Soviet art and says that every time Soviet performers tour Reykjavik, she invites them to give a concert at her home.

As we chatted we recalled what the 11th century historian Adam of Bremen had said of Icelanders, that their only king is the law. I asked the president whether she believed an arms control agreement would serve to better regulate world affairs.

"Of course, we must have agreements. It is through law and order that we operate in society."

I explained why I had asked that. I said that we were now witnessing a

nihilistic attitude to international law, that too often we were hearing it claimed that agreements were nothing more than scraps of paper, and that politics should rely on strength, not agreements.

"Agreements are of course made to keep them," she returned, "and if we do not believe in keeping agreements we become very pessimistic and pessimism is something that takes the energy out of man. I do not think that we should denigrate, underestimate the agreements. They can only be of benefit. And hope always gives human beings optimism and energy."

When I asked what sort of agreement one could realistically expect of the Reykjavik summit, the President replied with the generality:

"Don't we all hope for an agreement that can give us the hope that the world will be better in future with less animosity?"

"Grassroots Diplomacy"

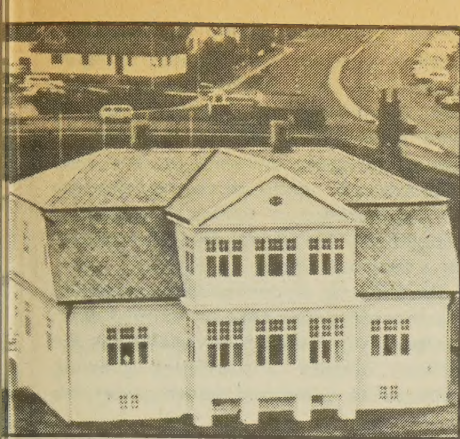
Though the two leaders had yet to come to Reykjavik, the summit had already provoked fierce argument. Its magnetic appeal caused diverse forces to see it as a chance to influence politics or come in its limelight, to disclose their pain and hope or shout out from the housetops.

The Zionist extremists who rushed to Reykjavik from Tel Aviv or New York, were least of all concerned about a successful summit. With unsympathetic obtrusiveness, they advertised themselves and their posters, roamed from news conference to news conference, striving each time to raise a stink and "steal the show."

Five hundred candle-holding Icelanders congregated on the central square to demand that their country stay neutral. Another two hundred marched past the U.S. Embassy shouting "Rid Iceland of bases! Iceland must withdraw from NATO!" They exhorted the U.S. to leave tiny Nicaragua in peace.

Delegations from the Freeze and Sane organizations conveyed from the U.S. a letter to their president in which 60 Congressmen demanded an end to nuclear testing. Among its signers was Senator Edward Kennedy.

That irrepressible singer Joan Baez came to Reykjavik to give a "People's Summit" recital at the Opera House. She sang in English, Russian, Spanish and Icelandic. She sang that infinitely sad, old anti-war song "Where Have All the Flowers Gone," Bulat Okudjava's "Let Us Take Each Other by the Hand, Friends," a ballad about Biko, the young black murdered in South Africa, and "We Shall Overcome." Then she interrupted her recital, with Icelandic television bringing her words home to every viewer: "Mr President," she said addressing Ronald Reagan straight from the shoulder with "grassroots diplomacy," that is without diplomacy at



Höfði Villa where the summit took place.

all, "you are a popular president. So when will you seriously undertake disarmament? May I remind you that you said you would support democracy in left-wing and right-wing dictatorships. If you were serious, you should at once deny Pinochet support. Recall your troops, our troops that are overseas. There is nothing for them to do there. Their place is at home."

The "Bird of Peace" organization resolved to collect 200,000 children's letters to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan for their Washington summit, and in the meantime exhibited the first.... International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War... Women for a Productive Summit... British and West German advocates of denuclearized zones in Europe... Monks for Peace from Assisi, Italy—they all dispatched messenger pilgrims to Reykjavik. Taking place alongside the blackout meeting of the Big Two was a multifaceted spontaneous people's summit. The connection was complex and contradictory, yet absolutely simple and straightforward.

One more factor that has influenced public opinion. The press. It appears to still be dared by the surprise effect. The formula of the meeting, its mandate, its agenda. Plus, of course, the likely outcome. All this has stirred up the pressmen, who in Reykjavik seem to have found themselves in the very eye of a hurricane. No wonder the waves in the newspapers.

The Mandate

So what is this? A meeting or not? A summit or merely the prelude, the preparation for one? Will the timetable for a full-scale summit in the U.S. be announced? Will any agreements be signed? The days were spent conjecturing to no avail. It was plain beforehand that the results would come only after the meeting ended, not one moment earlier. All news from Höfði Villa was officially embargoed. All the rest was fluid speculation. Never-

theless the Western media insistently and ingeniously mouthed airy nothings. Summits take precedence as major highlights and hence they had to dish up and play with words, even when no actual information was forthcoming.

Though there was no information, there was a plethora of views. On the eve of the summit there came from U.S. shores daily authoritative utterances. The President stated... the Secretary of State said... VIPs of every rank and side jostled for interviews. Not only speaker conflicted speaker, there were even conflicting statements from one and the same source. But the more there was of fog and fuss, the clearer certain things loomed.

The summit idea being popular with Americans, Ronald Reagan accepted Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for an urgent summit in Reykjavik. However, as the gentlemen in the corridors of power could not see eye to eye Reagan and Shultz wavered. Though the concept of "criticism from the right" may sound rather odd in its application to Ronald Reagan, there was such criticism and this generated uncertainty. The basic weakness of the current "strong" Administration is precisely fear of charges of weakness. In Washington's eyes a politician looks good when he flexes his biceps and acts the bully towards the Russians. Proceeding from this kind of logic, for the politician to agree to arms control with the U.S.S.R. is weakness. He must take up the cudgels for "human rights" or for arbitrarily formulated regional conflicts. That is strength!

On what should this summit, inasmuch as announced, place the accent? Truth to tell, this was a question of principle, a question of political priorities, an indication of how serious intentions on either side are, and above all a test of one's readiness to resolve problems, seek compromises and reach agreement.

At the Soviet press centre we were asked: "Is it true that the U.S.S.R. is no longer interested in regional conflicts, would like to ignore the human rights issue and concentrate exclusively on arms control?"

A typical logical substitution.

The troubles of a small country or region are not small troubles. Human rights remain a poignant issue even when the rights of whole nations are violated. There are enough of painful points and painful problems. They have to be taken care of all the time. They must be treated. Yet there exists a universal pain and a universal danger—the pain and danger generated by military confrontation and the runaway arms race. That is the basic issue, the basic trouble. Though extraordinary, the Challenger, Chernobyl, and submarine disasters are of the routine of the nuclear missile age. They are warnings that the world is charging full steam

ahead to catastrophe. Such is the train that must be flagged, not unmindful, though, of its many different coaches.

It stands to reason that the point of the Soviet-American summit cannot consist of protocolled, decorative platitudes. A summit is the top stake, the lever that Archimedes sought, as efforts at other levels are plainly inadequate to overcome the military-political inertia of the East-West confrontation, to stem the dangerous tide of events.

Indeed. Despite the explicit mandate issued by the first, Geneva summit a year ago, the talks on nuclear and space armaments are completely bogged down. Though the correspondence the two leaders exchanged in summer and the energetic consultations experts had in Moscow and Washington introduced new ideas and made for a re-estimation of the entire available arsenal of arguments, there was no breakthrough. Hence, Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for an urgent meeting.

Emergencies call for emergency measures. This meeting could not be turned down. But had the American side matured to the point of genuine realism? The answer should have been sought not so much in transient verbiage as in the positions themselves.

So What Happened?

The Soviet delegation brought to Reykjavik not only a worthy service record of a four-times extended unilateral moratorium on underground testing and a programme for full nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 plus other valuable initiatives, but also a bulky package of proposals, whose radical compromise character appeared to have caught the Americans napping. The point was that upon attaining agreement in principle the appropriate ministries and departments should be advised to prepare three draft agreements that could be signed already in the process of the U.S. summit.

In the area of strategic armaments it was proposed to halve available armories within five years in keeping with the very simple formula of halving each of the components of the opposed highly asymmetrical triads—that is, ground-based missiles, submarine-based missiles and strategic bombers—and abolish everything in its entirety within ten years. This was so explicit and convincing a pattern that eventually the Americans accepted it.

As for medium-range missiles, the Soviet position was still more generous. Mikhail Gorbachev offered President Reagan acceptance of the former American "zero option."

After some hesitation the Americans accepted this proposal too.

The monovalent Soviet stand evolved in accordance with the following logic. Inasmuch as the two great powers were embarking upon realistic major reductions, triple control would be essential and we stood for any form of control. Vital was a guarantee that neither side would unexpectedly acquire a potential composed of new types of weapons to thus obtain superiority, that neither would be in a position to dictate to the other. To this end it was important to retain and consolidate all inhibiting

factors restraining the arms race. Inasmuch as there would be an agreement to abolish strategic missiles within 10 years, it was necessary to shore up the anti-missile defence treaty with the commitment not to budge from it over these ten years. It was even admissible to tolerate laboratory research in the area of the Strategic Defence Initiative for exploration of its possibilities, as the U.S. Administration was so greatly attached to this project. However, all development and testing in space was, naturally, to be banned!

The Americans flatly rejected that.

The positions taken by the two powers on "star wars" are as far apart as heaven and earth. Moscow avers that it is criminal to drag the arms race into outer space. This would only offset all progress in arms control and disarmament and serve to produce third-generation nuclear weaponry magnifying the threat ten, a hundred, or a thousand times.

In defiance of common sense backed by the sad experience of all of human history and scientific extrapolations, the White House is offering glowing pictures of a tranquil future under the

The whole world discusses the outcome of the Reykjavik meeting. Scientists, politicians and public figures note the constructive nature and realism of Soviet proposals, our country's preparedness for serious compromises and concessions for the sake of attaining the most important objective—the preservation of peace on the planet. The reason why no accords were reached in the Icelandic capital was the American Administration being set on keeping its SDI at all costs and carrying out material preparations for the "star wars."

● G.D.R.

The Choice Facing Mankind

It is a duty of every individual and, surely, of every scientist to interfere with the process of sliding to a catastrophe. Experts know better than anyone else what horrible consequences the use of the latest mass annihilation weapons can bring.

Being a geophysicist and having a notion of the peace potential of outer space I welcome the proposals the Soviet Union tabled in Reykjavik. My Western colleagues tell me that these proposals are perceived by ever more

of their fellow citizens as a manifestation of the U.S.S.R.'s sincere aspirations for peace.

Mankind is now facing the choice of either wiping nuclear weapons off the face of the earth and creating prerequisites for peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation, or continuing to develop ever newer weapon systems.

Now is the time to act, and this chance is not to be missed.

Professor Heinz STILLER

Berlin

first West European leader to have joined this programme.

Judging by everything, the two sides came close to reaching important and much-wanted agreements. Lament-

ably, and I would even say tragically, the "star wars" obsession blocked the long-awaited headway in disarmament matters.

Despite the undesirable turn the Soviet-American summit took, I hope that there remains something to be salvaged. Reykjavik has given us a glimmer of hope, and that is something. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal that the number of strategic missiles be halved is of a truly historic importance.

London

● CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Heed the Voice of Reason

This is a crucial moment. We have indeed come to the critical point when the future of mankind depends solely on whether we get down to the elimination of the nuclear weapons stockpiled to date. If we prove incapable of eliminating nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons will eliminate us.

Sober-minded people cannot but be put on the alert by the stand the U.S. Administration has taken. Behind the smoke screen of phrases about its desire to disarm, Washington is making plans for a new world war which it proposes to win. Although President Reagan admitted in Geneva that there is no winning a nuclear war, which therefore should not be unleashed, American military programmes and doctrines

still proceed from the concept that victory in such a war is possible given military supremacy over the Soviet Union.

They say in Reagan's entourage that he wants to go down in history as a "peacemaker." But history is a strict judge. It judges statesmen by their deeds, not words. Facts show that America's postwar record was that of missed chances. To think of all the constructive Soviet proposals which have never materialized because of systematic obstructions on the part of the United States!

President Reagan will assume heavy responsibility to his own people and to history if he ignores the voice of reason in the interests of the military-industrial complex (the pernicious influence of

● BRITAIN

The "Star Wars" Obsession

Like most of the British I am most concerned over the fact that the Soviet-American summit dialogue has come up against the insurmountable barrier of the Strategic Defence Initiative, **DENZIL DAVIES, MP**, the opposition spokesman on defence, told me in an inter-

view. We Labourites have always opposed the "star wars" programme. It is our standing conviction that it will inevitably lead to the escalation of the arms race on earth and in outer space. Therefore we criticize not only the U.S. President but our own Prime Minister as well who is the

umbrella of a new technology which would automatically do away with nuclear weaponry and resolve for humanity all military-political contradictions. Peeping out from behind these mirages is the greed of the military-industrial complex, the stake on superiority, which though rejected by word of mouth, is actually doped up to the eyebrows.

The interests of all of humanity versus the interests of private, selfish, great-power ambitions. Such is the conflict of positions as viewed basically. Regrettably, these private, selfish, great-

power interests prevented historic accommodations from coming to pass. The unique chance offered has not been capitalized upon thus far. "Let America stop to think," Mikhail Gorbachev said at his news conference in Reykjavik. "We shall wait."

At the Höfði Villa two ways of thinking, two tendencies of world politics, came to grips. Though the two leaders had four rounds of face-to-face talks for a total of eleven hours, the old house teemed—no, not with ghosts and phantoms, even though the phantoms of that very specific domestic political

strife and the evil spirits of the military-industrial complex had scarcely let loose their grip of the President—but with the spirit of human hopes and aspirations, with the spirit of the hopes and aspirations of all mankind that hovered above Höfði Villa these days. It advised the participants to discard bias and prejudice, to display wisdom, to look for solutions, to evolve new bold decisions. Until this comes about, the struggle must go on!

which was warned against way back by President Eisenhower). A disarmament programme will neither harm anyone, nor put anyone's security in jeopardy. On the contrary, it will benefit not only the Soviet and American

peoples and all the peoples on earth, but our grateful posterity as well.

Jan PUDLAK
Director, Institute of
International Relations

Prague

● JAPAN

Not the Finish, but an Interim Stage

Ichiro Hatoyama, MP, the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party:

Important agreements were within reach, but the "star wars" proved an insurmountable obstacle. Although still in the development stage, this programme has already done no mean damage to peace and security. All countries would only stand to gain from discarding the SDI and advancing further towards nuclear disarmament and dé-

tente. I think we have no cause for pessimism, and favourable developments are to be expected in the foreseeable future.

From official statements, press and TV analyses one can calculate the "arithmetic mean" of Japan's reaction. Although disappointed and worried, Japan regards the Reykjavik summit as just a stage of the marathon to a nuclear-free future.

Tokyo

● ISRAEL

Stimulus for All Peace Forces

I think that the rejection of the Soviet ABM proposals has made the U.S. Administration responsible for the frustration of an agreement furthering the cause of peace.

The Zionist extremists in Israel—and all those, for that matter, who preach anti-Sov-

ietism, war and expansion—are now rubbing their hands together with joy. Small wonder, too: the torpedoing by the American side of the agreement on curbing the "star wars" programme suits them fine. After all, Israel has already joined the American

programme which, as it turns out, benefits only the out-and-out reactionaries who sabotage the peace process on the planet. The U.S. Administration's "stellar" affairs are very much down-to-earth for these forces. An end to the arms race and the removal of the "star wars" threat would contribute towards a settlement of regional conflicts, that in the Middle East included. Disarmament would pave the way for the solution, in our region, of the problems of independence, security and the peoples' right to self-determi-

nation. This does not suit the militant quarters in our country. It is my profound conviction that Reykjavik will give an impetus to the international movement for nuclear disarmament. I believe that the Soviet Union's sincere initiatives will find still more supporters. At the same time, the demagoguery of the American stand will only serve to further isolate the U.S. on the international arena.

Tawfiq TOUBI, Deputy
General Secretary of the
Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Israel

● F.R.G.

SDI Blocks Disarmament

In Reykjavik General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev made far-reaching proposals which accord with the concepts of the peace movement and of the Social Democratic Party. Unfortunately, the American side still sticks to its SDI programme. As a result, any agreements on disarmament in other spheres have proved impossible.

The F.R.G.'s Social Democrats have been against the SDI from the very start. It was pointed out at the recent SDPG congress in Nuremberg that the SDI blocks disarmament and that those who support it actually keep the arms race going. We shall go on explaining to the U.S. government why the SDPG rejects the SDI. We shall also insist that the proposals made in Reykjavik should remain on the negotiating table. We are especially interested in nu-

clear missile arms reduction in Europe.

The massive demonstration on October 11 in Hasselbach in front of the American base where cruise missiles are stationed showed for all to see that the peace movement is on the rise. It calls on the federal government to use all its influence on Washington so as to have it make concrete steps towards disarmament.

Horst SIELAFF
Bundestag deputy
for the SDPG

Bonn

Interviewers: D. Zgersky,
B. Kozlov; New Times correspondents A. Tolpegin (F.R.G.), Y. Tavrovsky (Japan), APN's own correspondent V. Orlik (Britain).

AFRICA

We, 530 Million...

● THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA HAVE NO WISH TO HOLD ALOOF FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE.

The nuclear war ideologues spare no efforts to "excommunicate" Africa's peoples from the peace movement. It is dinned into their heads that the peace movement is the concern of the great powers, that they have many other problems which they should strive to resolve. However, Africa's people think differently, maintaining that the struggle for peace is their own vital concern. The latest relevant confirmation is afforded by the International Conference for Peace, Disarmament and Development held late last month in the Congo capital of Brazzaville at which delegations from 20-odd African countries and from national liberation movements and international and regional organizations adopted a Brazzaville declaration and appeal.

These two documents stress that today the struggle is not just for peace, but for humanity's survival, inasmuch as nuclear weapons will spare none if ever used. The conference had high praise for the Soviet peace bids and urged the U.S. and other nuclear powers to emulate the Soviet example—subscribe to the nuclear test moratorium and abandon plans for transferring the arms race to outer space. They think all that will help in eliminating nuclear arms by the year 2000. "We, 530 million African people, declare the African continent a zone free from nuclear weapons," the conference participants unanimously stated.

This forum also discussed the interconnection between disarmament and develop-

ment. The consensus was that the arms race and the involvement therein of the newly liberated countries overburdened their economies and impeded, if not reverted, their socio-economic advancement. Without overall disarmament it would be virtually impossible to end the backwardness and poverty of African states.

Noting the conference's topical significance, the Ethiopian delegate Ayalmeh Ejigu reminded his audience that hundreds of billions of dollars were squandered annually on arms throughout the world, though at the same time more than half a billion people were starving in the developing countries. He said it would be enough to subtract around one per cent from global military spending to feed them. "According to U.N. experts-calculations," he added, "the money spent on the arms race unleashed by the imperialism in the late 1970s and early 1980s would have been fully sufficient to turn Sahara into an evergreen garden."

There was trenchant criticism for the racist regime in South Africa which with Western connivance is stepping up its military potential and is intensively working to develop its own nuclear weapons. The conference urged redoubling the effort against apartheid and introducing all-inclusive sanctions against South Africa's racist regime, and demanded independence for Namibia and moral, political and material support for ANC and SWAPO.

"There must be no room on earth for war, aggression, apartheid, racism, Zionism and neocolonialism," Sydney Molifi, representing South Africa's ANC, declared.

These are words that probably every African will subscribe to.

G. BEZUMATOV

Brazzaville—Moscow

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Women's Contribution

● A REGIONAL SEMINAR, "WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT. WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE," WAS HELD IN TASHKENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE.

The discussion was at its height when Sakae Ito, co-chairman of the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers' Organizations, reached for the microphone. Her voice rang out over the hushed assembly like a clarion call for peace.

"I shall never forget August 6, 1945. I was on my way to work as usual. Suddenly a fiery mushroom of fire blinded me. I learned later that the epicentre of the explosion was within a kilometre and a half of my place of work. My clothes were instantly on fire and a second later I was pinioned under the ruins of a falling building. When I finally managed to crawl out, the street and the rest of the city were gone. The air was filled with the sound of groans and cries. It was like a scene from hell."

Listening to Sakae Ito, we Soviet women could not help thinking of all those who never returned from the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. The eyes of our Kam-puchean sisters, who had experienced the horrors of genocide, brimmed with tears. The faces of the Vietnam delegates were grim—they will never forget the battles fought on their native land. One thought was uppermost in our minds: the misfortunes of war must never be allowed to be repeated.

"There can be no successful development so long as hundreds of billions of dollars are spent on the arms build-up," said pilot-cosmonaut of

the U.S.S.R. Valentina Tereshkova, chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee. "More and more women in different countries are coming to see that their rights can be secured only when the right of nations to sovereign and independent development, the right of each and all to peace and life are guaranteed."

The discussions at the seminar which was attended by representatives of 43 women's organizations of different political orientation from 20 Asian and Pacific countries, big and small, continental and insular, were frank and uninhibited. The common desire to overcome differences, to find ways to mutual understanding and a realistic appraisal of the present world situation made itself felt.

Margaret Laurence Salas, of the National Council of Women of New Zealand, spoke of the unanimous approval by women everywhere of the extension of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing. She believed, she said, that the Soviet leadership was taking effective steps in the fight for détente. The New Zealand government for its part had taken the positive decision to ban the entry into New Zealand ports to warships carrying nuclear weapons.

Noor Farida Ariffin of Malaysia is a member of the leadership of the National Council of Women's Organizations of that country.

"Although the laws of most of the countries of the region, Malaysia included, proclaim equal rights for men and women, this is still far from being fully realized," she told me. "The many existing prejudices, of course, are also to blame for this. We are greatly concerned about instances of violence towards women, of brutal treatment by husbands and other members of their families. Of course, there has been a notable improvement in the social conditions of Malaysian women since independence, but discrimination still exists. At enterprises in the state sector men and women receive equal pay for equal work. In the private

sector, however, where, incidentally, the positions of the transnational corporations are strong, this principle is frequently violated and women are paid sometimes two thirds and even a half of what men get. Besides, little is done to improve their working conditions—the private employers think only of superprofits."

The participants in the seminar did not confine themselves to the session hall. They were given an opportunity to

acquaint themselves with the life of urban and rural families, they visited plants and factories, a hospital, a collective farm and the city Pioneer Palace.

"Your experience is an inspiring example for us of what socialism can do for women," said Bi Bi Sherine, a baker from Kabul, member of the Central Council of the All-Afghanistan Women's Council. A young woman in her late twenties, she is already a

widow with four small children. Her husband, a timber worker, was killed by the dushmans. Why? Because he lived and worked honestly, because he wanted to see his native land free, and because he joined the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. But Bi Bi Sherine's bereavement has not broken her.

A communiqué adopted by the seminar expresses the conviction that confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region

must be replaced by good-neighbourship and cooperation, that the region can become part of a comprehensive system of international security.

The women's organizations of the Asian and Pacific countries have begun active preparations for the World Congress of women which is to be held next June in Moscow.

N. PROTASOVA

Tashkent, October

ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

Hun Sen: Realism Must Prevail in Politics

Hun Sen is a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Below is an interview with him by a New Times correspondent.



What's your opinion of the proposed peace programme for the Asian-Pacific region that Mikhail Gorbachev, announced in Vladivostok?

The statement made by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is of historic importance for the Asian and Pacific countries, for the whole planet. The initiatives, which are filled with a spirit of good will, are fresh evidence of the Soviet Union's peaceableness, of its highly responsible approach to the problem of safeguarding world peace.

The ideas and proposals put forward in Vladivostok accord with the most cherished aspirations of the people of Kampuchea. As everyone knows, we have paid a dear price for our freedom and independence—I am referring to our long fight, together with the

fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos, against colonialism, militarism, imperialism and, finally, against the Pol Pot regime of genocide that was even more barbarous than Hitler's. Peace is an indispensable condition for the fulfilment of our plans for the country's reconstruction. We have joined hands with Vietnam and Laos in order to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

The government and people of Kampuchea welcome and fully support the constructive initiatives contained in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev. We are prepared to cooperate with the U.S.S.R. and with all countries in carrying out these initiatives. It is our firm conviction that much can be achieved by joint effort. The Soviet proposals, which accord with mankind's age-old aspirations for peace and

justice, will serve the cause of security, good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

What, in your opinion, are the ways to ensure peace and security in the region?

As a result of the policy of wars and confrontation pursued by the United States of America and other reactionary forces, the situation in Southeast Asia remains tense. Naturally this worries the three countries of Indo-China. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have proved their good will by putting forward what we believe to be important proposals aimed at making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourliness. Other convincing manifestations of our good will have been the five partial reductions of the Vietnamese volunteer contingents in Kampuchea at the request of the Kampuchean government and under a bilateral agreement. These troops will be completely withdrawn from the country by 1990.

The fraternal countries of Indo-China believe that the situation in Kampuchea could be discussed, along with other questions, at negotiations between the Indo-China states and ASEAN. Such negotiations, which Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos have proposed, must certainly centre on problems of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Reactionary forces, the enemies of Kampuchea have not abandoned their sinister schemes. But there is no bringing back the black times to our revived country. We believe that our cause is just and it is our conviction that realism should prevail in the policy of all the countries of the region. This will pave the way towards much coveted peace and stability.

TIME FOR ACTION

From our special correspondents

VITALY IGNATENKO and ALEXANDER LEBEDEV



Copenhagen is used to being a host. Every day big and small ships under the flags of dozens of countries crowd its port. But these days guests are arriving not only through the sea gates of the Danish capital. They are streaming in by plane and train, they are coming by bus, in columns of marchers, and there are also hitchhikers. And they are from all over the world.

In fact, the forum in Copenhagen has attracted representatives of some 130 countries and more than 50 international organizations. We have grown accustomed to using figures to convey the scope of meetings of the international public. In this case, however, figures do not give a full picture of the unusual nature of the congress.

Indeed, it is unusual as to composition, methods of preparation and form of conducting discussions. Judge for yourself, the agenda, the procedure of work make it possible to discuss the widest range of problems. Here are only some of them—peace and social progress, peace and human rights, peace and trust. There will be seven thematical centres, eight discussion forums, special interest groups, trade union, women's and youth meetings, and numerous other activities. To serve any taste, so to say. Moreover, there will be no long speeches written in advance, no mandatory documents. Free discussion—such is the main and only condition.

For five days this will be the most international venue on earth because the issues to be discussed in Copenhagen are of concern to all. "To safeguard peace and the future of humanity" is the keynote theme of the World Congress devoted to peace.

Connection in Copenhagen

It is said that Kastrup airport in Denmark is the most suitable place to make connections on flights from Iceland to Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. And is it not indicative that immediately after the ending of the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting a part of

the press corps left Reykjavik for Copenhagen not to embark on other flights but to cover the World Congress? But this connection, to use an airline term, is a recognition that the voice of the world public, the calls and conclusions of the worldwide peace movement are becoming the reality today.

The Copenhagen congress is the first major international event after Reykjavik. Of course, this is a chance coincidence which nobody could have considered when this anti-war forum was being suggested and when preparations for it were being made.

A natural link, and not simply a link in terms of time, has now formed between these two events. Two positions, two approaches to world politics, to the destiny of nations have been presented to the public to judge. The participants in the congress are capable of finding their bearings and drawing their conclusions without outside help. Moreover, they will do that not as impassive onlookers. No denying it, decisions pertaining to states are made by heads of government. But this is no justification of a passive and contemplative attitude. The public is capable of influencing the decision-making of politicians. At his press conference in Reykjavik the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev very clearly expressed his respect for the role of world public opinion and his faith in its possibilities.

Among the congress participants the prevailing view is that once again Washington is missing a unique historic chance to drastically change the dangerous course of events, place the arms race at long last under control, reverse it and start working for the creation of an atmosphere of trust in the world. The United States declined to take to this road.

It is also noted here that the Soviet Union had offered to make substantial concessions. What else could the American side expect of it—maybe simply a unilateral disarmament of the U.S.S.R.? But one must be a realist, say many delegates both from the rostrum and in private conversations.

In short, the Copenhagen congress has acquired at once what we would describe as a new political dimension, a new level and tonality. The peace-loving peoples, the public must have their say, they cannot and do not want to place themselves at the mercy of the American military-industrial complex and its loyal politicians.

In Copenhagen one senses virtually all the time how profoundly and organically the Soviet initiatives reflect the demands of the peace champions, how consonant they are with the views of most diverse quarters—in Europe, the United States and on other continents.

Forum? Dialogue? Struggle?

October 15. The huge Bella-Centret complex. 2,500 delegates. 10 a.m. The beginning of the congress and at the same time the end of the big preparatory work which in itself was acutely political.

To be more clear, after all we have in our memory recollections of many major anti-war actions, we will remind our readers how this idea had originated and developed.

The 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly proclaimed 1986 an International Year of Peace. An appeal to observe this year by stepping up actions against the danger of war and for disarmament was addressed to all governments and nongovernmental organizations.

As it should have been expected, the U.N. decision stimulated mass actions for freezing nuclear arms, for banning all nuclear tests, for ending the arms race and preventing it from spreading to outer space. News of actions by peace champions streamed in from all countries without exception, regardless of geographical location and social systems. The evil predictions that the anti-nuclear movement was on the wane failed to materialize. Today the actions of the anti-war forces cannot be ignored even by those quarters that are remote from slogans demanding a

nuclear-free world, a world without missiles.

There was an interesting report some time ago: Lord Carrington, the NATO Secretary-General, had received the leader of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Bruce Kent. A symptomatic fact as such, although it did not affect the NATO doctrine which provides, in particular, for the first use of nuclear arms.

In the same context, and this is said here, the Soviet leadership regularly exchanges views with various public figures and takes into account their wishes and stands in its foreign policy activities. The extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, the radical proposals set forth in Reykjavik—can there be any more convincing confirmation of this?

In short, the political dialogue on the main dilemma of our time—nuclear catastrophe or peaceful coexistence—is proceeding on various levels. It is also developing in the anti-war movement itself where a comparison of views and exchange of experience are simply a must for the success of the common cause.

The peace movement is a motley and heterogeneous one. In fact, it is hardly right to use the word "movement" in the singular. There are anti-war associations of scientists, physicians, architects, sportsmen, cultural figures, etc. Trade unions with millions of members, big political parties, as well as individuals—intellectuals, servicemen, clergymen—are joining the anti-nuclear, anti-missile struggle.

So when a group of Danish public figures came up with the idea to conduct an international dialogue of anti-war forces, it quickly found numerous supporters in different countries. An International Preparatory Committee was formed last December at a meeting in Koge, a small locality near Copenhagen.

Hermod Lannung was elected president. His enthusiasm, consistency and optimism earned him a special place even in such a perpetually dynamic movement as that for peace. Somebody has quite aptly remarked that one has to live a long life to become at long last young. Lannung is 91.

A member of the leadership of Denmark's Radical Liberal Party, honorary president of the World Association of World Federalists and a prominent pacifist, he is a dedicated supporter of the use of international mechanisms for the settlement of disputes. His political experience is enormous: 20 years of work in the United Nations system, nine years of work at the head of the European Committee on Legal Cooperation of the Council of Europe and participation in the drafting of the main international covenants on human rights.

Soviet people have special reason to be appreciative of him: in the 1920s, i. e., in Soviet Russia's hour of need, he came over to organize international humanitarian assistance.

Working alongside Lannung in the Danish Preparatory Committee were people representing different political parties and organizations, as well as trade unions. This work was by no means easy. It required big efforts, great patience and, most important, political tact.

Today the organizers, both of the Danish and the International Preparatory Committee, can be congratulated: their efforts have yielded good fruit. Judging by the very first reports, a very broad spectrum of political forces is represented in Copenhagen: Radicals, Liberals, Social Democrats, Socialists, Communists, the Greens, and even Conservatives. Clergymen are numerous in the hall—Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox believers, Buddhists and Moslems.

Many scientists have come—physicists, medics, lawyers, economists. There are also members of parliament, retired generals, actors, writers, teachers, cosmonauts, famous sportsmen.

True, one sees an occasional smirk of an admirer of "Rambo" or a reader of the *Soldier of Fortune* publication for mercenaries: when, the smirk intimates, have writers, philosophers, journalists, composers and the more so footballers ever succeeded in preventing even a single war?

According to Data of Intelligence Services

Let us make a stop here, pause for breath and return to the recent past so that the picture we have drawn would not be too rosy. It was far from smooth going in the preceding months. It can be said that preparations for the congress went on simultaneously in the streets and squares during demonstrations and at meetings of the International Preparatory Committee. There were four such meetings—two in Copenhagen and one in Geneva and Vienna each. The work proceeded collectively, openly and decisions were made mostly by way of consensus. People of different views took part in the preparations, problems were inevitable but they were ironed out.

All this evidently played on the nerves of those who were preparing for the congress in their own way—in NATO offices and the well-known Western centres which are unruffled by their perpetual notoriety. The *F.R.G. Die Welt* must have had them in mind when it blurted out that "according to data of Western intelligence services some 2,000-2,500 participants from Communist and pro-Communist organizations all over the world are expected

at the congress." Meantime, memos of the U.S. State Department and the foreign ministries of other NATO countries, timed to coincide with the congress, were already being circulated among news agencies.

We leafed through the State Department's document. How utterly boring! Hammering away at a single theme: the congress is supposedly being organized by the World Peace Council and other "front organizations" of Communists. As though on command (and why not?) this theme was picked up by some media outlets, including the Danish *Jyllands-Posten*. Here are some samples of its headlines: "The Kremlin Is Behind This," "The KGB Pays," "Soviet Foreign Ministry Organizes Congress." Another Danish newspaper, *Radikal-Politik*, ironically remarked on this score: "In the Radical Party's opinion, the Kremlin is not behind this. We suffer exactly because the KGB is not allocating money. Otherwise we would not have spent so much time on collecting money of which we still do not have enough." (Incidentally, the treasurer of the Preparatory Committee of the congress is a Danish Social Democrat.)

But the more you read commentaries in the Western press in the period preceding the congress, the better you understand the reason of the shrill contentions about the "dominance of Communists and pro-Soviet organizations." Some newspapers, however, have themselves blurted out the reason of this. It is only logical that on such an extensive and open congress it is simply unthinkable to ignore the peace proposals made by the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

Now about the World Peace Council. Representatives of the WPC together with colleagues from a number of other international and national organizations did indeed take an active part in the preparations for the congress, sharing their considerable and very useful experience of organizing international assemblies. Had the WPC declined to take part in the holding of such a congress devoted to the International Year of Peace then apparently it would have invited criticism.

It sounds ludicrous but there had been yet another haughty and at the same time wretched question: "Who allowed the Communists to grab control of a congress of peace champions?" (!) We would like the answer to be provided by the influential Copenhagen newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*. One of the leaders of the bourgeois Radical Liberal Party, Jens Peter Clausager, wrote: "Usually Radicals have nothing to do either with the Communist Party of Denmark or the World Peace Council. But in my opinion neither the CPD nor the WPC are exerting a bigger influence on the congress than we, all

the rest." Besides, Clausager added, "how can there be a dialogue if different viewpoints are not brought together?"

Indeed, how? For the World Congress is not a dialogue of people who think alike. Taking part in this dialogue today are people who very often do not have political sympathies for one another. The present situation in the world compels thousands upon thousands of citizens of different countries to gather together in order to compare their viewpoints on most diverse and often sharp and contradictory problems. But of course they have a common denominator of their aspirations—the defence of peace on earth.

Here, in Copenhagen, nobody will dare simplify the nature of the discussions at the congress. It is not difficult to suppose that on some issues the viewpoints of a part of the delegates will not coincide. Say, on some aspects of the problem of human rights or, perhaps, concerning the situation around Afghanistan, or,

hypothetically, on the internal situation in various countries, both socialist and capitalist. It is quite possible that there will be no full accord on some other issues as well. There is nobody here, in Copenhagen, who would urge others to ignore acute problems and "bad" issues. On the other hand, there does exist the striving to prevent the dialogue between different anti-war forces from turning into a "settling of scores," to ensure that the congress does not stray from its main idea. Exactly this is said in the IPC's Open Letter: "The congress will be an action-oriented one, where joint actions and initiatives will be in focus and where we can discuss our work together in the future, in order to stop once and for all the madness of the arms race on earth and to prevent it from escalating to outer space."

To Be!

"The City of Hamlet," this is how Elsinore-Helsingør is called. Art has

made a dramatic impact on the history of this town. The Prince of Denmark never lived there. But who remembers this now? Shakespeare left one question for all the future generations. And it is this question, "To be or not to be," that is etched in our memory.

Facts of history cannot be scheduled in advance and they cannot be adjusted to the calendars of the coming century. Man can foresee the results of his actions and model his future with a considerable degree of veracity. He can control the very course of life—to quicken or slow down the approach of the future. Such a man is a coauthor of history. That is the reason why here, in Denmark, we are raising Hamlet's question, "To be or not to be," in terms of the destiny of the world, mankind and civilization.

The congress of peace champions is under way. It is a congress of fighters from all over the world for a future without wars. And they say, "To be!" Copenhagen

INDONESIA

More Executions

What has been happening in Jakarta over the past two decades cannot but arouse sorrow and indignation. The latest in the long list of outrages committed there is the execution, by a firing squad, of nine more members of the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI), reported recently. The victims, most of them over sixty years old, have been shot after 15-20 years in death cells. Like hundreds of others before them, they were sentenced to capital punishment on standard charges of conspiring to overthrow President Sukarno's government at the end of September and early in October 1965. Although history has long refuted these charges, and although Sukarno was compelled to resign office in 1967 under pressure from forces backed by the army now ruling the country, the victims of provocations and malicious slander still die a violent death.

This is the longest (twenty-year!) campaign of terror ever conducted, within living memory, by the triumphant bourgeoisie against its class enemy. Observers explain this tragic phenomenon by the exploiters seeking to take class vengeance on the party which protects the interests of the working people or by the ruling regime trying to intimidate all its political opponents regardless of their orientations and to suppress social unrest caused by the worsening of the economic situation in the country. But whatever is behind this seemingly endless succession of shootings, each of

them is perceived by the world public as a crime against humanity, as a violation of elementary universally recognized human liberties recorded in international documents. The latest news from Jakarta have aroused a new wave of indignation the world over. Many participants of the Moscow international conference "The Working Class and the Contemporary World" who represented the Communist and Workers' parties of many countries, the CPSU included, responded to the appeal of the Communist Party of Indonesia, condemned the continued terror and demanded that the basic human rights and democratic freedoms be respected in Indonesia.

The world press condemns what the French paper *Matin* describes as "a bloody Communist hunt."

People ask: What does the public of Indonesia itself think about these executions? The political atmosphere there is such that no one can speak up in defence of the Communists without imperilling his position, his living and his very freedom. However, the gloomy silence in which the Indonesian papers pass over the official reports on the executions is most meaningful. At the same time certain pronouncements by Indonesian papers go to show that the thinking people there are concerned over the profound social consequences of incessant terror. The *Kompas* newspaper cautiously pointed out, for instance, that by using violence as the chief means of solving social problems

the authorities breed the cult of violence among the population which results in various extremist outrages and ever more frequent acts of terrorism.

Many in Indonesia realize that the extreme anti-communism of the country's home policy after 1965 undermines its political prestige on the international arena. Most Indonesians haven't forgotten the fact that the CPI and the left-wing democratic organizations were immensely active in the fight for the Republic's sovereignty, economic independence and national dignity.

The nationalist quarters which have long cherished Indonesia's ambitious dream of heading the non-aligned movement [of which the republic was a founder in 1961] now fear that the executions of left leaders are giving their country a reputation poles apart from that the non-aligned countries would like their leader to have. "The tragic events in Indonesia by no means further its interests as a developing non-aligned state, or add to its prestige in the international community of nations," the Soviet government pointed out in the statement it made in connection with another wave of anti-communist terror which swept Indonesia in the summer of 1985.

Nevertheless certain quarters in that country still regard extreme anti-communism as a means of ensuring internal stability, of gaining the reputation of a reliable partner in the eyes of the imperialist West. When it gains the upper hand, the position of these quarters amounts to an ostentatious disregard for world public opinion. It is only too obvious, however, that such disregard can lead nowhere but up the blind alley.

A. YURIEV

Pyongyang Sets the Example

Regional problems, which not infrequently catalyze local international tensions, have evoked increasing anxiety in world affairs over recent years. One such problem concerns Korea and is the result of U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in that country.

When it signed the Korean armistice agreement in July 1953, the U.S. pledged to withdraw its troops from that country, and contribute to a political settlement there. However, hardly had the ink dried, than Washington concluded with Syngman Rhee regime a "joint defence treaty," thus legalizing an indefinite U.S. military presence in the south of the peninsula.

Currently Washington ranks South Korea among countries of "vital importance" for, believe it or not, U.S. national security. What does this boil down to in practice? The systematic increase of the U.S. military presence in the south of the peninsula, South Korea's conversion into a U.S. nuclear missile bridgehead, help to the Chun Doo Hwan regime in building up its army's combat power, and broader interaction between the armed forces of the U.S., Japan and South Korea.

Reflecting the resolve of the entire Korean people, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea perseveringly strives to consolidate peace in the peninsula and achieve peaceful national reunification. It proceeds from the premise that the problem of Korea's reunification is the nation's internal concern, which should be tackled after American troops are pulled out of South Korea, military-political tensions in the peninsula are alleviated, and other conducive requisites are created for a North-South political dialogue and for the nation's subsequent reunification along peaceful democratic lines without outside interference.

At its Sixth Congress in October 1980 the Workers' Party of Korea put forward a comprehensive programme for national reunification by setting up the Confederal Democratic Republic of Koryo. This programme envisages the institution of a confederation as a milestone towards normalization. Crucial to its realization is the earliest withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. In this connection the congress repeated its offer to the U.S. to negotiate the replacement of the Korean armistice agreement by a peace treaty, which would thus end the state of war de jure. This treaty should provide for a U.S. troop pullout from South Korea plus concerted measures that would rule out every possibility of the resumption of hostilities in the Korean peninsula.

In January 1984 the D.P.R.K. officially called upon the U.S. Administration and Congress and the South Korean author-

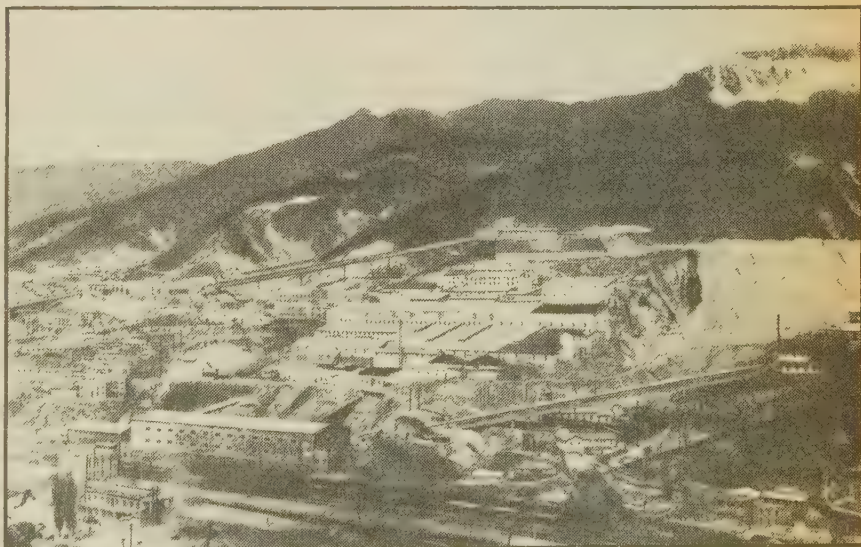
ities to conduct tripartite negotiations that should, as Pyongyang saw it, culminate in the signing of a peace treaty between the D.P.R.K. and the U.S. The D.P.R.K. and South Korea would adopt a declaration on non-aggression, committing the two sides to slash their armed forces to the minimum. Last January the D.P.R.K. government made another peace bid when it unilaterally renounced widescale military exercises and suspended all military exercises while talks between the D.P.R.K. and South Korea were in progress.

Last June the High Command of the Korean People's Army (KPA) forwarded through the Military Armistice Commission to the commanding general of the U.S. Eighth Army and the South Korean Minister of National Defence a proposal to arrange for the military leaders of the D.P.R.K., U.S. and South Korea to meet to agree upon concerted measures to

It is obvious that implementation of all these major constructive initiatives of the D.P.R.K. would serve to lower the level of military confrontation in the Korean peninsula and contribute to the peaceful settlement of the national reunification problem.

What approach have the South Korean authorities taken? In his home and foreign policies Chun Doo Hwan just as Park Chung Hee before him, emphasizes the doctrine of "building up strength to reunify the country by defeating communism." The D.P.R.K. news media justly assess this as the facelifting of the Syngman Rhee doctrine of "national reunification through a march on the North." Still operative in South Korea is repressive legislation that metes out harsh penalties up to the death sentence to all advocating the democratization of socio-political life and the establishment of broad contacts with the North. Military hysteria is artificially sustained and rabid anti-communist propaganda is carried on.

From time to time Seoul alleges that it is supposedly prepared to enter into a peaceful dialogue with the D.P.R.K. However, the experience gained in



Having chosen the socialist road, once backward Korea has become a developed industrial-agrarian state. Seen here is the D.P.R.K.'s largest Komdok mine.

From Korea magazine (D.P.R.K.)

discontinue military exercises and armed forces buildups, slash troop strength and armaments in the Korean peninsula, and strictly observe the armistice agreement. That same month the D.P.R.K. government issued a statement expressing its willingness to negotiate with the U.S. and South Korea the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea and making the Korean peninsula a peaceful, denuclearized zone. Only recently, last month, the KPA Command announced the full-scale transfer of KPA divisions and brigades and also of internal troops from frontline positions to major construction sites.

negotiations conducted through diverse channels indicates that by such claptrap it merely seeks to hoodwink the world public.

The latest events have reaffirmed the plain axiomatic truth that only the full and immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea can pave the way for a Korean settlement.

Viewing its relations with people's Korea as a component of security throughout Asia and the Pacific, the Soviet Union will continue to promote these relations in accordance with the principles of equality and solidarity.

V. KONDRATYEV

Oman: The Rim of the Middle East

This land, once the source of myrrh and incense so highly valued in the Orient, has always had an irresistible appeal to adventurers. Legends about the land's fabulous wealth, huge pearls found off its shores and wondrous mermaids were passed on by word of mouth. The people of that land were famous for their valour and dignity. Courageous seafarers, they were the first to ply the Indian Ocean. Their small but sturdy boats took them southwards to the African shores, to India in the east and sometimes even as far as China. Trade thrived on the shores of Oman. In the 18th century the port city of Muscat was the hub of commerce in the Persian Gulf and later gained sad notoriety as a busy centre of slave trafficking.

The wealth of Oman and its unique position on the crossroads of shipping lanes were a lure not only to travellers. Throughout the centuries it was a scene of strife between countless invaders, among them the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and British. The Persians and Turks also mounted raids into Oman.

The British landed on the shores of Oman in the 18th century. Using bribery, intrigues and threats they secured from Oman's rulers the right to build trading stations. A British commissioner set up residence in Muscat in the early 19th century and at about the same time London imposed "special treaty terms" on Oman and incorporated it into the British Empire. It then became a springboard for conquering other parts of Arabia.

Two British protectorates, the

Sultanate of Muscat and Trucial Oman, were set up on the territory of Oman in the mid-19th century. In 1913, the Imamate of Oman proclaimed independence which took it seven years to uphold. In 1955 Britain again sent its troops against Oman, together with the Muscat army. The Oman issue was discussed at the United Nations where the Soviet Union resolutely took the side of the Omani people. In 1965 the U.N. General Assembly approved a document recognizing the inalienable right of Oman and Muscat to self-determination and urged London to pull out its troops from the territory of the two countries. London disregarded the U.N. resolution and the struggle against the colonialists continued.

The country remained in the grip of medieval mores up until the middle of the current century. The gates of Muscat were locked after sunset and life in the city came to a standstill. Smoking, spectacles, repairs in old buildings, new construction, the installation of bathrooms and the playing of musical instruments were punishable by imprisonment. There was a ban on wearing European clothes, listening to the radio and driving cars, and new lands were not allowed to be cultivated. The capital had virtually no electric power supply and the country had a single 10-km asphalt road from the sultan's palace to the airport. Sultan Said bin Taimur, a captive of prejudice and arcane fears, kept himself closeted in his palace and held his British-educated son Qaboos prisoner in the fortress-palace in Salala.

In 1970 there was a successful and

bloodless palace coup. The Imamate of Oman and the Sultanate of Muscat, already virtually united, were proclaimed an independent state, the Sultanate of Oman, with its capital in Muscat, and the 28-year-old Qaboos bin Said became the sultan.

A good deal has changed in Oman since then. In 1971 the country joined the United Nations. The sultan, the absolute ruler of Oman, has a Consultative Assembly, which looks into economic and social problems and formulates its opinion on general political issues. A Development Council was established. The country's political structures, however, are just emerging. As of yet it does not have a constitution, political parties or trade unions, and the local bodies of government and social institutions are at embryonic level.

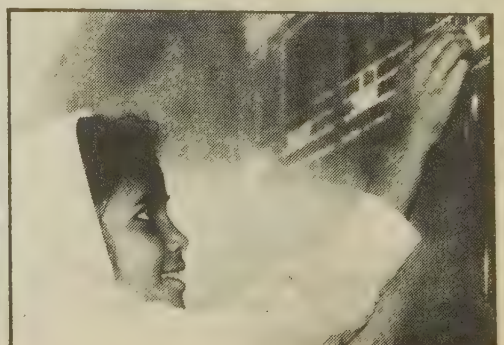
A programme of economic and social development is being implemented on the basis of five-year plans since 1976, oil being the main source of revenue. Oil was struck by a British company in 1937. In the early 1950s, American monopolies became interested in the Oman oilfields. Today the main oil prospector and producer in the country is the Petroleum Development Co. of Oman, in which the government controls 60 per cent of the capital, the British-Dutch Shell Co., 34 per cent, Compagnie française des pétroles, 4 per cent and Britain's Partex company, 2 per cent. Oil concessions have been granted to some other British, American and Japanese companies.

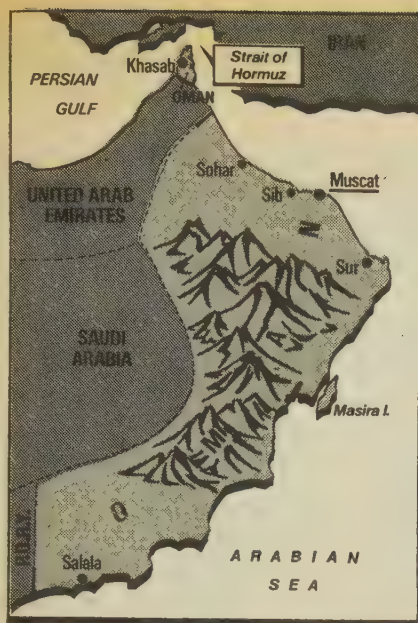
Oil brings in more than 90 per cent of Oman's hard currency earnings (roughly \$4 billion annually in the past few years) and accounts for about the same share of the GNP.

The dramatic developments on the oil market over the recent years have shown how risky it is to rely on oil alone, especially so since, at an expert estimate, Oman's oil reserves will last it for just another two or three decades at the current production rate. That is

Fellahin. Fishermen. Oilmen. A schoolgirl.

Photos from the Oman yearlies





why increasing emphasis is laid on diversifying the economy. Promising gas and copper reserves have been discovered. A copper smelting plant was built in Sohar and started exporting in 1983. An industrial development zone incorporating several modern plants was built near Muscat's airport at Sib. One more such zone is going to be established in Salala.

Changes are happening in the most backward sector of the Oman economy—agriculture. Irrigation facilities are being built, advanced farming methods introduced, several large livestock farms have been established, the country's first veterinary centres opened, and fruit and vegetable growing are making progress. Yet the country still has to import most of the food it needs. In Oman with its 1,700-kilometre coastline, a sizable part of the population traditionally engages in fishing, which is being modernized: refrigerator ships have been bought and fish processing facilities are under construction.

Oman today has a rather far-flung network of paved roads. A new highway has been built to link the country proper with the Masandam Peninsula, an enclave separated from the rest of Oman by the United Arab Emirates. That strategically sensitive peninsula "chokes" the Strait of Hormuz, the narrow bottleneck between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Iranian shore is a mere 26 miles across.

Way back in 1970 Oman had three schools with an enrolment of 600 boys. Today the country has 195,000 students, almost half of whom are girls. In September the country's first university was opened. It has an enrolment of 3,000.

The work of the fellahin, urban

craftsmen and fishermen, however, remains unbearably hard. There are bad shortages of national personnel: a mere 20 per cent of the skilled workforce are nationals of Oman and more than 60 per cent of the total labour army are immigrants from other Middle East countries and southern Asia.

Although Oman's oil revenue is relatively large, it is not enough to fulfil rather ambitious development plans, especially in view of its huge military spending which constituted about a half of the state budget in 1985.

Outdated concepts and prejudice still have a strong hold on the country's day-to-day life. These also have an impact on Oman's foreign policy. The fetters of old colonial relationships too impede Oman's progress and stand in its way out of its international isolation.

The British presence is still strong in Oman, with British companies controlling most of the development projects and British advisers and experts having a great deal of influence in the government, the police and the army. All the fighting arms of Oman and the sultan's guards brigades have British officers. Moreover, the national navy and air force are commanded by the British.

Oman also has close links with the U.S.A. An agreement was signed in June 1980, before the outbreak of the Gulf war, under which the United States was granted "access" to military facilities at Sib, Thamarit, Khasab (on the Masandam Peninsula) and on Masira Island "in periods of international crises." In practice American planes are based on Oman airfields virtually on a regular basis and American warships frequently call at the country's ports. The Americans also store military equipment in the country. Quite a few military exercises with the participation of American troops have been staged in Oman. In the past three years the U.S. has made about \$300 million available for the modernization of the military bases and in late 1985 agreement was reached on the use of military technology kept at bases in Oman by the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. The Pentagon attaches special importance to the air force base on Masira, which is viewed as a key element of the chain of the U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean. According to a recent programme on the U.S. NBC TV, the bases in Oman are considered a stronghold for use in a possible confrontation with the U.S.S.R. in the Persian Gulf, and also as a staging area against Iran. Naturally, the Arab public is worried by Oman's "special" relationship with the United States.

Judging by everything, Muscat is all for broader cooperation with Arab countries, primarily with its neighbours

and partners in the Gulf Cooperation Council. Prompted by common sense and a desire for stability in the south of the Arabian peninsula, Oman and neighbouring Democratic Yemen concluded an agreement on the normalization of relations in 1982 and resumed diplomatic relations in 1983.

As national and political awareness keeps growing and the desire to emerge from isolation onto the world scene becomes stronger, Oman displays a rising interest in the U.S.S.R. and appreciation of its role in world affairs. "Oman thinks highly of the Soviet Union's foreign policy," information minister Abdul Aziz al-Rowas said at

SULTANATE OF OMAN

Territory: 300,000 sq km (as estimated by the Oman government since the borders are not demarcated).

Population: about 1.5 million; the capital is Muscat (120,000).

The official language is Arabic.

Oman is an absolute monarchy, with Sultan Qaboos bin Said exercising all legislative and executive powers. He is head of state and government, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and concurrently foreign, defence and finance minister.

a press conference in Muscat. "The Soviet Union has always supported the just struggle of the Arabs against the Israeli aggression and advocated a fair and early settlement of the Palestinian problem."

Oman's desire to have normal relations with the U.S.S.R. materialized in an understanding to establish diplomatic relations reached on September 26, 1985. Accepting the credentials of the Soviet Union's first ambassador to Oman, Sultan Qaboos said last May: "We hope that we will be able by joint efforts to establish most friendly relations, in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence recorded in international law."

The first page in the history of relations between the U.S.S.R. and Oman has thus been opened and an important step taken to understanding and mutually beneficial cooperation.

M. PETROV

REMEMBERING

WHAT EVEN ONE INDIVIDUAL CAN DO

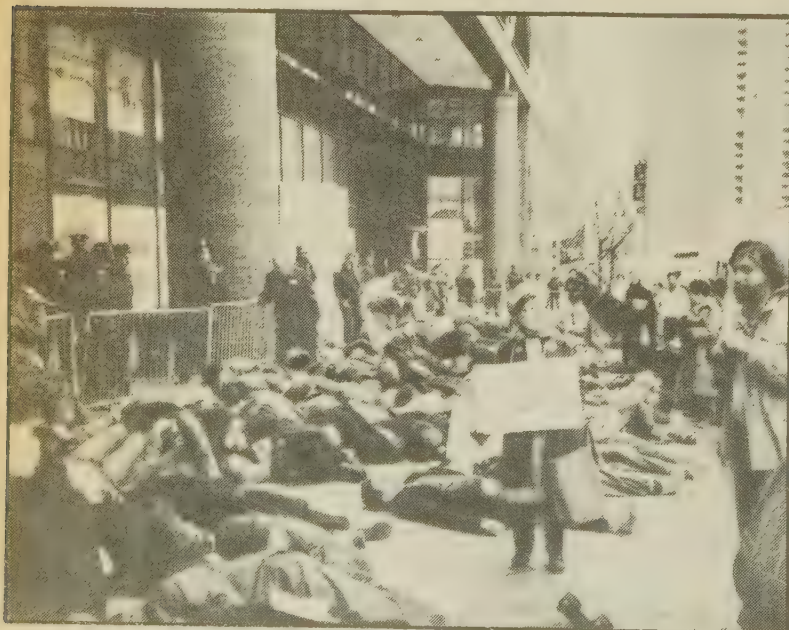
In the number 27, July 14, 1986, issue of your magazine I read the article "The American Dream" which evoked memories of the events which have nothing to do with your story at a first glance but actually are closely connected with it. "I shall never forget," a Soviet journalist who has spent a few years in the U.S. writes, "seeing New York building workers beat up a demonstration of 'sons of the rich' who were protesting against aggression in Vietnam."

I agree with your author that this scene can be construed as another American paradox. I heard about this event the same day it occurred over the radio while driving home from work. I was upset and angry that members of my class had disgraced the working class by their violent jingoist outburst. I hurriedly sought and found the student strike committees of Columbia University and New York City College, told them that I was a

union member and read to them a letter that I had mailed to George Meany, National President of the AFL-CIO at the time, protesting against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. After that, I was invited to speak at a rally that the New York City College was holding in a few days. The rally demonstrated opposition to the war against the Vietnamese people. Thereupon the progressive New York City trade union leaders felt compelled to counter with a rally of protest against the criminal aggression. Tens of thousands attended the rally. I suppose this shows that an individual can sometimes stir up a hornet's nest over an issue that many are disturbed and agitated over.

Charles RIVERS
New York City, U.S.A.

Charles Rivers sent us this picture of a demonstration of protest against the entry into New York harbour of U.S. ships with nuclear weapons on board.



OPINIONS

OF TERRORISM AND TERRORISTS

I find your magazine's stand on terrorism simply outrageous. Terrorism, in my opinion, is a positive phenomenon and those whom you consider terrorists are really valiant young people fighting to promote the ideas of world revolution.

Ezio BIANCHERI
Vallecrosia, Italy

The U.S. and some other Western countries have proclaimed themselves to be fighters against terrorism. But is that really the case? Allow me to remind you of some facts that I think testify to the opposite. Who is it that is showering dollars on the Nicaraguan contras? The U.S. government. It also patronizes Pinochet, encourages bandits on the Afghan-Pakistani border, and provokes ever new terrorist actions in which innocent people are killed. Those who claim their country to be the "most peace-loving of all nations" have, I think, forgotten the most important thing: violence breeds violence, and state-sponsored terrorism breeds individual terrorism. No matter how much the United States brags about its "anti-terrorist activity," it is the source of the evil wreaking death and devastation everywhere, including in my country.

Pierluigi DONINI
Cremona, Italy

During a rally of workers in New York rather heated discussion took place as to why this has become so late. Bombs have been killed by Italy and Austria recently, in France were all these which innocent people killed. or work discussion were we could not reach a conclusion. In the aggressive and Israel put East is the cause of terrorism. The U.S. aggressive actions high in the over, though much about the end, I think it generates it. It is ample. American is ready to punish by doing so the real terrorism. Attention to combat terrorism must be seems to me the phenomenon is to be necessary to end

EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY

A CLOSER LOOK

If so happened that I am presently employed only in Spain, where I live, there are many people out of work growing. To improve employment statistics we are in periods. At first sight it looks as if the authorities are away. But on closer inspection it is clear that we are more than those who are totally unemployed. We do not have benefits, while the illusion is foisted on us that we are



NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN

THEY ARE OUR HEROES TOO

My attention was drawn to the photographs of the heroic Fortress of Brest and the reminiscences of Alexei Ispolatov you printed in your issue No. 25 for 1986. The club at our power station in Weisswasser has a room devoted to Naganov, a young lieutenant, one of the last victims of the defence of the Brest Fortress. The room has a showcase with memorabilia of the Brest Fort-

ress and Naganov's personal effects.

A repair team at our power station, headed by Ruppelt, was recently awarded the hero's name in recognition of its good work performance. The name was conferred on the team at a ceremony attended by the widow, daughter, and granddaughter of the hero.

Some of the members of our team visited the Naganov family in their

home in the Ukraine. And they were guests of a workteam in Brest also named after the hero. I enclose a photograph from a newspaper. The heroes of the Soviet Union did not give their lives in vain. Having liberated us from the fascist yoke, they opened the way for us to build a new life and engage in creative work. Therefore they are also our heroes and I salute them.

On June 22, 1941, I was 11 years old. But I remember the worried faces of the men who gathered in the house of my grandfather Franz, a poor peasant from Eldenburg. My grandfather believed that Hitler would have the same fate as Napoleon. After Hitler's troops had advanced deep into Soviet territory the local authorities started recruiting people who wished to take up farming in Russia. But my grandfather dismissed it with a laugh. And when the nazi troops reached the Volga his confidence that the Red Army would come to the Elbe remained hard as a rock. He lived to see that happen and, most important, he sowed the seeds of truth in my heart. How arrogant were the nazi barbarians! No, this should never be forgotten.

With communist greetings,
Ernst DRACHEIM
Weisswasser, G.D.R.

Widow of Naganov, who died defending the Brest fortress, signing a friendship pact between her family and Ruppelt's team from the repair shop of the Weisswasser power plant.

FOLLOW-UP

THE SEARCH GOES ON

Early this year your magazine carried an interesting article by Lisitsyn about the creation during Lenin's life of one of the first monuments to him. ("In the Town Square of Cavriago," No. 3/86.) We were very moved by the story of the monument that was eventually put up in the small Italian town of Cavriago. You see, we students at the teacher training school in Krasnoarmeisk in Donetsk Region, have been gathering materials about the first monuments to the leader of the world proletariat for several years.

Some of them were made by workers and peasants and not by professional sculptors. They are not exactly masterpieces, but this

does not make them less valuable as vivid testimony of the genuine love people felt for Lenin.

One such monument was unveiled in the village of Sergeyevka in Donetsk Region on May 25, 1924, on the initiative of Pyotr Lokotiansky, the chairman of the village Soviet.

There were stone quarries near the village and the local people had a reputation for being skillful masons. The author of this sculpture was Mark Khalyava, a stone carver. He was helped by the local peasants Kucherenko and Pereyaslavsky. Ivan Alekhin, who was then secretary of the village Soviet, later recalled: "They worked for three months from dawn to dusk. They polish-

ed the stones for the pediment and cut the bust of the leader. At long last the unveiling ceremony took place. People came from all over the district. There were speeches and a band played."

Unfortunately, that monument to Lenin has been lost. During the second world war the village was occupied by the nazis. Though some local people hid the precious sculpture, it then disappeared without a trace. Today there is a new monument to Lenin in the central square. But we, however, have not given up hope that someday the first monument will be found. Maybe somebody reading this knows about its fate. If you do, please contact us.

Teacher training school
students,
Krasnoarmeisk, U.S.S.R.

Thirty Years

Professor DMITRY PETROV

Thirty years ago, on October 19, 1956, representatives of the Soviet Union and Japan signed the Joint Declaration proclaiming an end to the state of war and the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Not everything has been simple and smooth on the road traversed by the U.S.S.R. and Japan since then. There were ups and downs, considerable difficulties caused both by objective and subjective circumstances, by a prejudiced approach to the partner's stand or attempts by third countries to impede the development of good-neighbourly relations. Yet the striving of the Soviet and Japanese peoples to establish firm bonds of friendship and the objective requirements of the two countries have turned out to be so strong that it has been possible to create quite a sound basis for a further development of such relations.

"The Most Important Event"

The joint Soviet-Japanese declaration did not just lay the legal foundation for the development of political, economic,

scientific, technical and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Japan. Its importance went far beyond the framework of bilateral relations. It put an end to Japan's isolation from countries of the socialist world in which it had found itself after the conclusion of the San Francisco peace treaty. This opened up possibilities for Japan to overcome the onesidedness of its economic and political ties, and enabled Japanese diplomacy to display greater flexibility in the world arena. In accordance with the terms of the declaration the Soviet Union supported Japan's application for U.N. membership, which opened up wide prospects for Japan.

The exceptional importance of this document for the country's postwar history was noted by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its Blue Paper of 1957. "When we restored diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and, in December 1956, were admitted into the United Nations, Japan's position in the international arena underwent the most important change in the entire history of our diplomacy. Prior to the normalization of our relations with the Soviet

Union, Japan's windows were opened only on one side and closely shut on the other side. For that reason our international relations were restricted to a certain part of the world and we could not speak with our full voice. With the restoration of relations with the Soviet Union, the leading country of the communist world, we opened the windows to the East just as they were opened to the West, and became full-fledged members of the world community of nations."

In the years that followed, the U.S.S.R. and Japan came to know each other better, found numerous points of coinciding interests, deepened mutual understanding and extensively developed trade and economic ties.

The public in both countries welcomed the positive steps that were recently taken to promote and develop relations between the two countries. The exchange of visits by ministers of foreign affairs was of special importance. The talks conducted by Eduard Shevardnadze in Tokyo over January 15-19, 1986, and by Shintaro Abe in Moscow on May 29-31, 1986, signified a resumption of political dialogue after a lengthy interval of eight years. They helped to melt the ice of mistrust and remove much of what had hindered the development of normal relations between the two countries since the early 1980s.

As two influential world powers, the U.S.S.R. and Japan discussed the existing international situation rather seriously. They agreed that everything possible should be done to quickly reach accords on arms limitation and disarmament and a maximum possible lowering of the level of military confrontation.

An agreement on cultural ties was signed. Its purpose is to give the peoples of both countries new possibilities for greater insight into each other's spiritual life and national culture. It was decided to hold consultations of foreign ministers on a regular basis alternately in Moscow and Tokyo at least once a year. The question of simplifying the procedure of visiting burial grounds on Soviet and Japanese territory was solved in a humanitarian way. The work of the Soviet-Japanese intergovernmental commission on scientific and technological cooperation, suspended in 1978, was resumed. Agreement was reached in principle on a visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Japan.

A substantial turn for the better has taken place in relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. There is every possibility for their further improvement on the basis of the strict observance of

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

TADASHI KURANARI



Tadashi Kuranari, Foreign Minister of Japan, was born on August 31, 1918, in Nagasaki. In 1941 he

graduated from the law school of Tokyo University. His wife is a hibakusha, as the atom bomb victims are called.

Since 1958 he has been a member of the House of Representatives of the Japanese parliament. In 1974 and 1976 he was a member of the cabinet as Minister of State and Director-General of the Economic Planning Agency. He has been deputy Secretary-General and

Vice-Chairman of the Policy Research Affairs Council of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party.

On July 22 this year Tadashi Kuranari was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. In one of his interviews he declared for the pursuance by Japan of a diplomacy of peace and disarmament and spoke of his intention to do everything possible to promote peace throughout the world.

the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

Prospects and Possibilities

Of course nobody has any intention of ignoring the differences existing between our two countries. Closer relations are impeded by the nonexistent "territorial issue" raised by certain quarters in Tokyo. But what unites our countries and brings them closer together is much greater than what separates them.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its sincere desire to develop all-round ties with Japan on the basis of friendship and good-neighbourliness. This is not a matter of tactics but a long-term policy stemming from the national interests of the U.S.S.R. and the fundamentals of its foreign policy. In his conversation with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Shintaro Abe, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union had made a principled political decision to use every possibility to develop and improve every aspect of its relations with Japan irrespective of its ties with other countries.

On their part, representatives of the Japanese government have also repeatedly expressed a readiness to work for better relations with the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone recently stated in parliament his intention "to make efforts to expand friendly contacts with the U.S.S.R. in the field of culture, economy, science and other spheres. . . . We want a further development of bilateral ties. Japan and the Soviet Union are neighbours and as good neighbours we must work in this direction," he stressed.

Having been clearly expressed at the highest level, the desire of both countries to promote truly good-neighbourly ties opens up possibilities for searching for concrete ways of developing business cooperation.

The Soviet government proceeds from the premise that the U.S.S.R. and Japan have no reasons for confrontation. On the contrary, the growing interdependence in today's world and the top priority task of ensuring mankind's survival expand the sphere of common interests and create possibilities for concerted action first of all in respect to problems related to warding off the threat of nuclear war.

Japan highly appreciated the Soviet Union's lofty and bold unilateral decision to stop nuclear weapon tests.

As a country that has experienced the horrors of atomic bombing, Japan could use its moral authority to demand that Washington heed the voice of reason, show respect for the will of the

peoples and immediately follow the Soviet Union's example and stop nuclear testing. The Soviet Union and Japan could also do much in the United Nations and through other international organizations to achieve this aim.

Japan could play an important role in averting a new danger to mankind—the spread of the arms race to outer space. Regrettably, on September 9 the Japanese government decided to join Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative and take part in the preparation of "star wars." This decision was condemned by the People's Republic of China. South-east Asian countries have adopted an attitude of wariness towards it. The Soviet Union also cannot but be alarmed by plans to use the Japanese scientific and technological potential in militarizing outer space.

Soviet-Japanese cooperation could make a considerable contribution to safeguarding peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region. The cause of peace could be served by the joint drafting on a multilateral or bilateral basis of confidence-building measures in the Far East. The Soviet government proposes that agreement be reached on limiting the activity of navies and submarines in certain zones of the Pacific, first of all in those areas through which the most important sea lanes pass.

The Soviet Union has also made numerous proposals in respect to bilateral relations with Japan. Moscow is prepared to conclude a treaty of good-neighbourliness and cooperation. As the Soviet Union sees it, such an agreement would by no means substitute for a peace treaty, and talks on the latter would be continued. On the contrary, it would become an important intermediate stage making it easier to reach agreement on other complex problems.

An agreement containing the Soviet Union's pledge not to use nuclear arms against Japan and the Japanese government's pledge to strictly observe its proclaimed "three non-nuclear principles" would be fully in the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

A Sound Foundation

The prospects in the economic sphere are favourable. The volume of Soviet-Japanese trade in 1985 increased by 6.8 per cent as compared to the previous year, reaching \$4.1 billion. But this is still less than in 1982 and, given the two countries' level of economic development and objective requirements, can in no way be considered suitable by either the U.S.S.R. or Japan.

The tenth joint conference of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committee on economic cooperation, held in Moscow over April 15-17, 1986, gave

an important impetus to the development of trade and economic ties. At the meeting it was noted that along with the development of trade in traditional commodities much depends on the efforts of Japanese companies to improve the pattern of trade turnover and substantially increase the imports of machinery, equipment, semi-manufactures as well as licences from the Soviet Union. This would help reduce the U.S.S.R.'s deficit in its trade with Japan. Without reducing this deficit a normal development of bilateral trade is impossible.

Representatives of Japanese business circles think highly of the Soviet Union's striving to find new forms of economic ties, in particular its proposal to set up joint enterprises.

At the same time it is impossible to ignore the serious impediments posed to the development of business cooperation between the two countries by the artificial barriers created by the increasingly tough restrictions on the delivery of high technology to the U.S.S.R. imposed by Japan in accordance with decisions of the Coordinating Committee for Control of Strategic Exports to Communist Countries (COCOM).

Soviet foreign trade organizations and business circles in Japan count on the fulfilment of the accord reached during the talks between the ministers of foreign affairs that both sides "will promote the further expansion of trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan on the basis of mutual advantage." A fulfilment by the Japanese side of this undertaking would help remove all sorts of artificial restrictions.

A big role could be played by the conclusion of an intergovernmental agreement on principles of economic cooperation proposed by the Soviet Union. It could serve as a basis for the drafting of a long-term programme, say, for 25-30 years, along the lines of the programmes that exist for a long time already in the U.S.S.R.'s relations with the F.R.G., France, Britain and other Western countries. This would make it possible to place trade ties on a stable basis and create conditions for the manufacture of commodities specifically intended to meet the partner's requirements.

Looking back at the past thirty years we can say with satisfaction that much has been accomplished. A good foundation has been laid for neighbourly relations. But even more work lies ahead. It requires considerable effort, tact, mutual account of interests and a readiness to look for mutually acceptable solutions. But this is a gratifying endeavour in that it will help to improve the situation in the Far East and promote truly friendly ties between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Gunfire in a Memorial

For the second time in the past two years ballistics experts from the Delhi Police's Central Forensic Laboratory drew circles around the marks made by the bullets shot at the country's prime minister.

Fortunately, the little circles chalked on the path to the Mahatma Gandhi memorial in Delhi on October 2, 1986, are not accompanied by the silhouette of a human body. The assassination attempt on Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi failed.

The gunshots on October 2 burst the silence of the Indian shrine that 39 years before saw the cremation of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian people's struggle for independence and ideologist of the Indian national consciousness who died at the hands of reactionaries. "The Great Soul"—for this is the translation of "Mahatma"—stressed that the danger of war came from imperialism and its aggressive nature. The ideas of Mahatma Gandhi form India's present external policy, a policy aimed at establishing friendly cooperation among states with differing social systems. The name of the present prime minister is associated in India with this policy, followed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Eyewitnesses say that the terrorist who tried to kill Rajiv Gandhi shouted during his arrest that he wanted to become another Nathuram Godse, the fanatic who shot Mahatma Gandhi. The assassin of the great Indian was in effect a tool of local reaction and the forces of imperialism. This unholy alliance is now trying to kill Mahatma Gandhi's ideas. That is why they killed Indira Gandhi and that is why they tried to kill Rajiv Gandhi.

October 2 marked the 117th anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi. On that day, as usual, the country's leaders came to the site of the cremation of the nation's father early in the morning to lay flowers. The memorial is a square-shaped space in the open air, bordered by an earth bank. In the centre of a lawn there is an austere marble slab with an eternal flame.

Having laid the flowers, Rajiv Gandhi walked away. At the entrance he was joined by the members of the government and other people who took part in the ceremony. A narrow path paved

with stones led the way to the gates of the external wall. About halfway to the gates and 10 metres to the side of the path, there is a flat roofed gazebo hidden by the lush growth of climbing plants. Behind this cover hid the terrorist. About 30 metres separated him from the receding prime minister when he pulled the trigger. At the same moment, Ram Charan Lal, 56, a retired judge, approached Rajiv Gandhi and became his involuntary bodyguard.

Talking to journalists in the hospital, this giant of a man said: "Suddenly I felt a sharp pain in the back and a push towards the prime minister. Simultaneously we all heard a shot. I remember Gandhi asking quite calmly: 'What's happening?'"

The security men formed a close circle around the prime minister and escorted him to the car. Others surrounded the gazebo and forced the terrorist to surrender.

Observers noted how cool-headed and calm Rajiv Gandhi was on that dramatic day. Within two hours after the assassination attempt he flew as scheduled to the state of Maharashtra to attend the celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

India, said Rajiv Gandhi, will follow the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. It is this that determines the country's progress and serves to preserve world peace.

Meanwhile the arrested man was interrogated. Sources close to the investigation said that the criminal used various tricks to thwart the inquiry. He constantly altered his statements, switched from one dialect to another and gave himself different names. At last his true identity was established as Karamjit Singh, 25, a resident of Punjab. He is a follower of the notorious Bhindranwale, the late Sikh extremist chieftain who tried, with foreign backing, to bring about the secession of the state of Punjab from India and the creation of an "independent Khalistan" on its territory. Karamjit Singh said that his shot on October 2 was not the first attempt on Rajiv Gandhi's life.

A fanatic? A lunatic? A lone kamikaze? It seems as if that is what the criminal wanted to make the investigators believe. But as informed sources have indicated, the investigators find this version unacceptable. Ten

more arrests have been made in Punjab in connection with the case. The circumstances suggest that it may have been a carefully planned conspiracy.

The would-be assassin managed to procure himself an army uniform, it is still not known how, which provided excellent camouflage in the lush foliage behind which he hid. The terrorist had ensconced himself on the roof several days before the assassination attempt. And he had a carefully selected stock of food as well as special drugs that helped him suppress the urge to relieve nature for a long time. Well, he cannot be denied self-control.

One circumstance that puzzles the investigators and observers is that the terrorist was shooting from a home-made gun with a limited combat performance. This fact has given rise to two hypotheses. Either he was counting on the low noise level of the gun giving him time to make one or two more shots before being detected, or else Karamjit Singh was a "decoy" meant to cause confusion and divert the guards' attention from a second terrorist with a powerful weapon who for some reason did not use it.

These questions are yet to be answered. Meanwhile new questions are being asked which lend the incident on October 2 an international dimension.

On October 4 the Foreign Minister Shiv Shankar told a meeting of the External Affairs Ministry Parliamentary Consultative Committee that he had received a cable from the Indian General Consul in Karachi informing him that "interest" was displayed in that Pakistani city in a possible assassination attempt on Rajiv Gandhi's life... 24 hours before it took place. According to the London Times of October 1, the editorial offices of newspapers and telegraph agencies in Karachi were flooded with anonymous telephone calls asking to confirm whether an attempt on the life of Indian prime minister had been made.

Someone in Pakistan must have known about the planned assassination. So, what we are dealing with here is an international conspiracy in which a neighbouring country is involved.

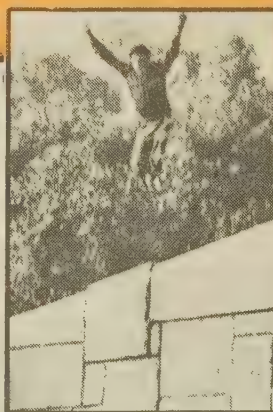
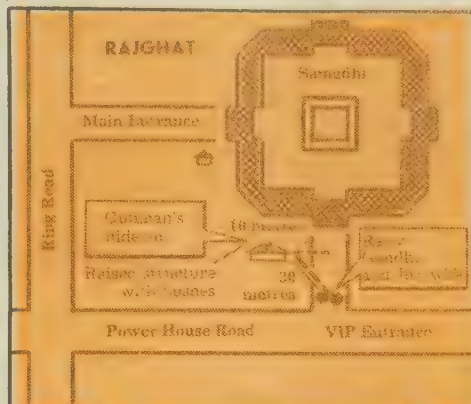
It is an indisputable fact, and not a hypothesis, that Pakistan or, to be more exact, the Pakistani authorities, are behind the present rash of terrorist acts in Punjab. The Indian government has more than once presented Islamabad with documentary evidence showing that there are special camps in Pakistan where the separatists are being trained

in sabotage and subversion. They are then infiltrated into India by the hundreds. This lends significance to the fact, as reported by Cecil Victor, a Delhi columnist, that Karamjit Singh had been trained in just such a camp in Pakistan. Could this be the closing of the circle started by the mysterious telephone calls in Karachi?

Ground plan of the Mahatma Gandhi memorial complex.

Within seconds after the attempt to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi his bodyguards captured the terrorist.

Photos from Times of India and Patriot



This also closes another circle. The Delhi newspaper Organiser, which is far from sympathetic to the Indian National Congress (I) party recently reported that Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq knew about the plans to assassinate Indira Gandhi at least on October 30, i.e., again the day before her assassination on October 31.

But while Pakistan, the "strategic partner" of the U.S., may learn about terrorist acts to be carried out in India a day in advance, Washington sometimes knows about them far earlier.

The assassination of Indira Gandhi was several months away when a secret document, commissioned by the CIA, was prepared, giving scenarios of developments in India in the event of Indira Gandhi's "violent departure." The document, known as the Hardgrave report after the name of its author, did not question that this event would happen. It only questioned when.

On the day before Indira Gandhi's assassination (again the day before!), October 30, 1984, the U.S. Navy's strike group No. 109 (the Enterprise aircraft carrier and several other vessels) had moved closer to the Indian shores from the Persian Gulf into the Arabian Sea. The movement, as recorded by Indian services, was accompanied by

ican Security Council, an ultra-reactionary organization, was held in Washington. A spokesman for the Sikh separatists told the congress that the Sikh separatist movement was covered by the Reagan doctrine and was therefore entitled to U.S. assistance.

In keeping with this doctrine, Sikh extremists blew up an Indian airliner with 329 passengers on board over the Atlantic in the summer of 1985. Last August they shot point-blank at, and killed, General Arun Sridhas Vaidya, former chief of staff of India's land forces. In recent weeks they have been after prominent members of the Indian Communist Party in Punjab. On October 3, the day after the attempted assassination on Rajiv Gandhi, the extremists made an attempt to kill Julio Ribeiro, head of the Punjab police.

All these are specimens of the

complete radio silence. Could there be a connection between this movement and the conclusion of the Hardgrave report that after Indira Gandhi's "violent departure" chaos would ensue in the country and neighbouring Pakistan could "act on an impulse"? Perhaps the Enterprise had moved closer to the Indian coast to be on hand to back these acts?

More than a dozen Sikh extremist organizations are active on U.S. territory with the knowledge and connivance of the Administration. Many of them are being trained in camps under CIA and FBI auspices. The policy makers on the Potomac are tempted by the prospect of seeing the formation of a puppet proimperialist state of Khalistan in South Asia, a state that could be used against "difficult" India and to counter "Russian influence" in the region.

Last summer a congress of the Amer-

neoglobalist doctrine in action. The aim is to sow chaos in India, to drive the great Asian country up the blind alley of internecine strife and to weaken its voice in the world.

Commenting on the recent developments in the country, Arjun Singh, Vice-President of the ruling Congress (I) party, said in an interview to New Times:

"We are not inclined to underestimate the seriousness of the situation. But those who hope to provoke panic in the country are mistaken. We will keep to our course in domestic and foreign policy."

L. ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi, October



Famine-Bringing Swarms

SERGEI KULIK

"I'm afraid there will be no train today," the stationmaster of the tiny Botswana railway siding near Palapye, the halfway point between Johannesburg and Harare, told me with an apologetic smile. "They have just said over the radio that a huge swarm of locusts is about to cross the railroad. If the train runs into it as it climbs a rise, there will be trouble—and there are several such rises on the road to Zimbabwe. The wheels crush the insects and begin skidding and the train starts sliding back. We have had such accidents, you know. I'm sorry about the delay."

We learned by midday that it was not adult, flying locusts but wingless hopping nymphs that were migrating from the Kalahari Desert eastwards, towards the Limpopo River. Two bands moving in solid streams several kilometres long were cutting across towards the green river banks, one from the north and the other from the south. It was near Palapye that they merged into one giant swarm, and streamed towards the Limpopo.

The wide river did not stop the in-

sects. They forged it on a front of about 800 metres. Millions of grasshoppers leaped into the water simultaneously and it seemed to boil under the onslaught. Most of the front-rankers were drowned—but others kept pressing ahead, using the dead bodies like pontoons, and shortly the first insects crawled up the opposite bank, their wet bodies glistening in the sun. Barely an hour would pass and tree branches in the river valley would bend down under the weight of the insects settling on them.

The local tribe Bamangwato, who had not even bothered to sow their crops in that drought-stricken year and had no fear of the voracious insects devouring their livelihood, were even happy with the invasion. All the villagers, young and old alike, set about catching them and, having torn off their heads, legs and embryonic wings, stuffed them into their mouths. Having had their fill, the people began packing insects into oversized bags used to ship corncocks. Dried in the sun and fried in oil, they are a local delicacy. The bulk of the catch, however, is

pounded by women into meal, which is either dissolved in milk or used to bake scones.

The reader should not view this practice as a manifestation of "African savagery." Locusts and grasshoppers are those "acridas" of ancient Greeks which were the sustenance of many early Christian ascetics, "the food of Saint Anthony." Herodotus, too, mentioned recipes of the "locust diet." Japanese companies today are marketing acrida delicacies in cans showing on their labels pictures of locusts copied from ancient Egyptian frescoes.

Biblical Curse

A delicacy it might be but the attacks of these omnivorous insects have always been considered a disaster everywhere, with the exception of those wastelands where locusts were food rather than pests. Locusts were the eighth and most severe punishment of the ten plagues visited by God upon Pharaoh. "And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt," the Bible says. "They covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land and all the fruit of the trees...; and there remained not any green thing in the trees or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt." This happened in 1300 B.C., under the pharaohs of the 19th dynasty.

It is hardly an exaggeration. Chronicles tell us how once thriving countries fell into decay and whole nations perished. In 125 B.C., for in-

stance, locusts devastated all crops in Numidia and Cyrenaica and the subsequent famine claimed 800,000 lives.

Locusts are no less dangerous today. Conversely, the more developed the stricken region is economically, and the vaster the area sown to profitable export crops, the graver the losses.

Perhaps, it was the same swarm that had stopped the train in Botswana that I saw a month later in the foothills of Mt Kilimanjaro in Tanzania. Distances are no obstacle to these tireless nomads. Adult locusts with well-developed wings can fly at 40 km per hour with a fair wind. Swarms were reported to take off in Morocco in the morning and settle for the night in Portugal. Locusts from Algeria flew as far as Britain and from South Africa as far as Kenya. The Africans call locusts "the teeth of the

solidly with large insects the size of a forefinger.

Until the sun began to shine in earnest, all that mass of insects rested in slumber. But when it grew hot, they came to life with loud rustling. The insects jostled one another as they tried to get into the sunshine to grow warm and stretch their wings before takeoff. The earth seemed to erupt in clouds of dust as swarms rose into the air one after another. Our car was soon caught in the midst of a live whirlwind.

Pilots who fly anti-locust planes say that they often do not hear their engines through the noise made by a locust swarm in flight. The passengers of our Toyota could not hear each other over the din of the endless smacks of insects against the body of the car. Then the rustle of their wings and the crunching of the vegetation they were devouring grew so loud that we had to plug our ears with our fingers. It grew hot but the windows had to be kept closed to stave off unwanted visitors who stuck in our hair, crawled into our clothes and scratched our faces with their rugged legs. It was dark in broad daylight and not at all easy to clear away the insects once they got in.

The locust army which had risen into the sky became a huge grey cloud moving away towards the sun. When the air slightly cleared, a horrible scene offered itself to our eyes: a desolate desert spread where life had been bustling yesterday.

I went out of the car and walked over to farmers' plots. I could only guess by naked, gnawed sticks rising from the red soil that it had been a cotton field. There was not a single leaf or green shoot left. The banana and mango trees had been broken by the weight of the insects which had spent the night in them. There was not a blade of grass around.

One can hardly say how many insects had attacked that lush area of tropical Africa. Statisticians operate with staggering figures: the "average" swarm numbers some two billion species, covers about 12 sq km and weighs at least 3,000 tons (2.5 tons per hectare). An armada of 40 billion insects covering 1,000 sq km was recently sighted in Somalia but it is no record either: entomologists keep a record of a swarm that spread over 6,000 sq km as it headed from North Africa for Arabia. It was estimated to number 250,000 billion locusts, which weighed close to 44 million tons. One can hardly believe it but scientists insist that insects in such huge swarms weigh as much as a quarter of the world's population.

One "average" locust devours 300 grams of green mass in its lifetime. If

we multiply it by the above-cited astronomic figures, it is clear why Tanzania's Minister of Agriculture and Livestock Development, Paul Bomani, characterized locusts as "flying death squads."

The selfsame average swarm of two billion insects gobbles up 4,000 tons of green mass a day, enough to feed 40,000 elephants, 100,000 camels or one million people. Having landed in a citrus growing area in Morocco, one swarm of locusts destroyed oranges at the rate of 60 tons an hour. In Sudan, flying from village to village, locusts ravaged one cotton or millet field after another in about 40 seconds each. After the insects had swept through Ethiopia in 1958, millions of people were left on the brink of death from starvation. During the last but one onslaught of locusts on the continent, in 1974-75, the Sahel countries alone lost 40 per cent of their harvest.

Today Africa faces the peril of flying famine again.

Two Fifths of the Harvest in Jeopardy

This prospect looks especially grim if we remember that Africa has just survived a dragged-out drought, perhaps the harshest in its history. Virtually one out of every three Africans has been affected by it. In 1984 famine hit 50 million people because of a succession of crop failures over the years. Self-sufficiency in food has shrunk so badly that the continent needed 7 million tons of food relief.

The situation has somewhat improved after generous rainfall in most of the African countries over the past two years. Food shortages in the areas hit by the drought especially severely have been alleviated, according to U.N. figures, to one fifth of what they were. Yet the threat of famine has not yet subsided in six African countries, namely, Angola, Botswana, Cabo Verde, Mozambique, Sudan and Ethiopia. As many as 18 million Africans are still depending on food relief. The countries bordering on the Sahara lose 128,000 sq km of cultivable land a year because of desertification. Tropical Africa is the only part of the world in which food production in per capita terms has been shrinking since 1969.

The rains continue but are no longer regarded as a blessing. The soggy soil nurtures locust eggs that had been lying dormant during the long dry spell. Although in usual years, as a rule, only one out of the four basic African species of locust multiplies, now the continent is threatened with their cumulative assault due to a number of reasons. The Senegalese grasshopper, frightfully prolific, joined forces with the desert, migratory, brown and red locusts.



▲ desert locust.

wind"—they know that that pestilence is brought to their fields by air currents.

We left for northern Tanzania early in the morning. The rising sun had not yet chased away the night cool from the green cotton and sisal plantations that were spreading on both sides of the highway. Mighty baobabs were standing in a haze of white bloom.

The flat top of the snow-capped Kilimanjaro was already visible on the horizon when, having crossed a small mound, we suddenly passed from a green to a yellowish-brown world. The plain stretching before us—the land, fields and trees alike—seemed to be painted in the colours of autumn.

A strange crunching sound came from under the wheels of our Toyota. It grew louder and shortly our car was rolling not on black asphalt but on a solid carpet of yellow insects. We had to slow down and then stop altogether. Judging by how deep the wheels went into the mass of locusts, that "carpet" was 25-30 cm thick. What must have been roadside bushes were covered

It will be the most massive attack of the locust in the past 60 years. "That is a potential problem that is quite horrifying," Peter Newhouse, senior economist with FAO in Rome, predicts.

Huge masses of locusts and grasshoppers have already been sighted in Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Chad, Niger and Guinea-Bissau in West Africa, and in Ethiopia and Sudan in East Africa. Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Namibia also face the massive threat of "flying famine" which is likely to last for the next 4 or 5 years.

The swiftness of the assault can be judged from the following news dispatch: "A July 11 report from Chad said there was no problem. A week later grasshoppers were reported countrywide. In another week the situation was described as worse. And last Friday the U.S. embassy in Chad was calling for emergency U.S. assistance." By mid-August as many as 60 per cent of all crops in the country were in danger of total annihilation. Altogether 45 per cent of crops have already been destroyed in western Sudan and up to 40 million hectares of pastures have been infested with locusts in Botswana.

These isolated data coming in to FAO and the Organization of African Unity put through computers and analyzed by specialists have been collated into an alarming forecast: locusts can take from the Africans at least two fifths of their harvest next year. They are thus confronting Africa with a no less horrendous spectre of famine than that produced by the drought. If the situation is not taken in hand, the omnivorous insects, the U.S. Agency for International Development predicts, will swarm through Arabia eastwards all the way to India, laying bare 20 per cent of the world's dry land in their wake.

It is an unprecedented onslaught, Peter Newhouse said in a telephone interview from Rome. "We're still at the stage where the problem can be solved. But if it is going to be solved quick action is needed."

Africa Goes on the Offensive

An emergency operations centre for Africa has been set up by FAO to coordinate the activities of national and regional organizations in averting the pernicious consequences of the disaster. Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, head of the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, announced on August 11 the establishment of a crisis anti-locust committee. Crops have begun to be sprayed from the air in the Sahel zone and subsequently the 30 planes and

6 helicopters used in these operations will be diverted to the forest zone.

The locust control campaign launched in Burkina Faso is quite successful. The breeding grounds of the pests were localized thanks to the energetic measures taken by the National Revolutionary Council.

"We are now in full control of the situation, which gave us serious worry only quite recently," Baba Ouedraogo, high commissioner of Yatenga Province, stated. "Committees for defence of the revolution have mobilized farmers and trained them in pest control. As many as 11 bases were set up and mobile anti-locust teams closely cooperate with the local population. Hundreds of hectares of farmland have already been treated with chemicals in the northern areas."

Thorough preparations are being made on the other end of the continent, in Zimbabwe, surrounded by infested areas on all sides. S. Mlambo, director of the Plant Protection Research Institute, said in Harare that all the agriculture services had been alerted, observation posts put out and stocks of insecticides laid. Last year Zimbabwean duster planes helped Botswana and Tanzania fight the pests and that experience has now been taken into account as well.

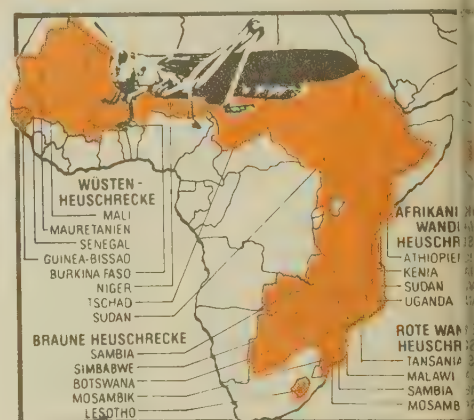
Natural disasters disregard national borders and Africa today should join efforts to fight the locusts just as it offered a joint front to the drought. An expert conference of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, convened at Zimbabwe's initiative in Harare in late September, drew up a joint programme to fight the locusts in nine southern African countries. The more efficient means of controlling the disaster is a preemptive attack, all the more so since locust onslaughts can be forecast nowadays. African specialists take much interest in this context in the hypothesis of Soviet scientists A. Chizhevsky and N. Shcherbinovsky that the locusts' breeding patterns depend on 11-year cycles of solar activity: the current onslaught was preceded by a similar attack in 1975. The works by the well-known Russian scientist Boris Uvarov who established that the formation of locust swarms is usually preceded by a drought, were found of practical importance as well.

The Soviet practice of locust control also arouses much interest. In the relatively recent past locusts scourged vast areas in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. But the large-scale use of duster planes, the development of virgin lands, the ploughing of waste and abandoned lands, the drainage of flooded areas, the regulation of pasture turnover, the sowing of the pests' breeding grounds with locust-resistant plants and the drainage of the reed-

overgrown deltas of desert rivers have helped eliminate locusts in those areas. The Soviet Union's efficient assistance to Afghanistan and Iran in controlling agricultural pests also played a significant role.

Locusts and Politics

Western advisers and experts on African problems have never expected 1986 to become a "year of the locust." Moreover, the Italian magazine Panorama wrote last August that they were convinced that the attacks of the locust had been done away with forever and "just a few months ago [that is, when rainfall had already come to the drought-scorched land and when legions of grasshoppers were auguring imminent disaster—S.K.] recommended that the International African Migratory



African countries that were overrun by four different species of locusts this year.

Reproduced from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Locust Organization be disbanded. The joint locust and pest bird control organization went out of existence simultaneously."

Small wonder that the Africans are critical of the West and disappointed by the meagre aid they get in their efforts to combat locust from those who have huge concessions in Africa and who control export crop cultivation and buy the bulk of valuable produce at token prices.

FAO's locust control plan calls for \$23.3 million and another 5-7 million will be needed to finance the measures taken by the African countries individually. These funds do not seem beyond the means of the Western donors, who, as the Tanzanian newspaper Mzalendo estimates, take out of the developing countries \$4 million in profit an hour.

However, FAO has so far received just a little more than one fourth of

this sum. As a consequence, Newsweek of the U.S. admits, "efforts to combat the invasion have been slowed by inadequate supplies and funds. The FAO, which is spearheading the campaign against the locusts... is hamstrung by a shortage of spraying equipment, pesticides and spare parts for vehicles and aircraft." It was pointed out at a regional FAO conference in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, in September that the resultant lack of material resources would make it impossible to treat over one million hectares of fields in the Sahel zone. This, according to Lukas Brader, director of the FAO's new emergency centre, is fraught with the spread of the pests to the neighbouring countries of the forest zone, such as Togo, Benin, Cameroon and Nigeria.

The only duster plane available to the East African Desert Locust Control Organization has been in operation for 30 years now. A Dar es Salaam radio commentator observed in this context: "Those who pose as our friends should better give up the production of one Lockheed or Trident and use the money thus saved—more than enough—to give Africa a couple of hundred of duster planes. The locust problem would have been resolved in a week then and mankind would have taken a step, however small, towards disarmament in the process."

Another important problem closely related to politics was noted at the Yamoussoukro conference: the agricultural ministers of 49 countries who met in the capital of Côte d'Ivoire pointed out the destabilizing effect of the aggressive policy of the racist regime on crop farming and livestock breeding in southern Africa. Locust movements are hard to control in areas of hostilities, where farmers are terrorized by UNITA and MNR gangs.

The degree of responsibility borne by the West for the grim trials which have again fallen to the lot of the Africans is obvious. Small wonder that Western propaganda is trying to hold natural and climatic conditions alone responsible for the disastrous effects of the drought, locust attacks, crop failures and other misfortunes.

Naturally, physical factors are largely to blame for famine—but they are not decisive. Semou Pathe Gueye, CC Political Bureau member of the Independence and Labour Party of Senegal, has observed.

Africa needs relief and it is a duty of the imperialist powers, which exploited the peoples of their colonies and semi-colonies over the centuries, to provide it. Yet food supplies to the countries laid bare by locusts must not

be used as leverage. Meanwhile, the United States is doing precisely this, as it did in the recent drought-plagued years. Washington's food aid looks more and more like the two-faced Janus: its motto "food in the service of peace" is purely propagandistic while the real *modus operandi*, "food is power," forcefully illustrates the hegemonistic character of Reagan's policy. Small wonder that Washington considers it "immoral" to spend American dollars through FAO on locust

control in socialist Ethiopia and goes all out to prevent U.S. participation in efforts to stop the voracious insects on the border of "Marxist Angola." The cynicism of these goals is glaring.

The participants in the Yamoussoukro conference not only stressed the need for the introduction of advanced land tenure in Africa but also noted that the establishment of new, equitable international economic relations is essential to carrying these plans out.

APPOINTMENTS

Victor Fyodorovich ISAKOV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Brazil



Victor Isakov, a Russian, was born in Leningrad on December 12, 1932. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1956, and joined the CPSU in 1962.

After graduation he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

In 1963-67, Victor Isakov was third secretary and second secretary of the U.S.S.R. embassy in the U.S.A., and in 1967-71 held, in succession, the posts of second secretary, first secretary and counsellor of the U.S. department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. In 1971-77 he was counsellor of the U.S.S.R. embassy in the U.S.A., and in 1977-83—sector chief and deputy chief of the U.S. department of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In 1983-86 Victor Isakov held the post of envoy counsellor of the U.S.S.R. embassy in the U.S.A.

Victor Isakov has been awarded several government decorations.

Vladimir Vasilyevich ALDOSHIN

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Guinea-Bissau



Vladimir Aldoshin, a Russian, was born in Moscow on January 8, 1929. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1951. A member of the CPSU since 1954.

Vladimir Aldoshin has rich experience of administrative work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow, and abroad. In 1952-56 he worked at the embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Czechoslovakia. In 1956-62 he held, in succession, the posts of third and second secretary of the international organizations department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and later was promoted to the post of its deputy chief. In 1962-66 he was second and then first secretary of the U.S.S.R. permanent representation at the United Nations. In 1966-74 he resumed office at the headquarters of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs as first secretary, counsellor and sector chief of the international organizations department. In 1974-78 he was counsellor of the embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Tanzania.

In 1978-83 Vladimir Aldoshin was ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Somalia, and in 1983-86—deputy chief of the first African department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Vladimir Aldoshin has been awarded several government decorations.

Everyone's Concern

Debate on finance bill for 1987 continues in parliament

A bill has been introduced by Bettino Craxi's five-party government (Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats, Liberals) that pursues three main objectives: to increase gross national product by 3 per cent, keep budget deficit within 100,000 billion lire, and reduce inflation to 4 per cent.

These are good intentions, of course, but the proposed ways of carrying them out have come under heavy fire. Progressive forces have long been demanding a radical reform of the taxation system, for instance. At present, almost two thirds of the taxes are levied on the working people, with the rich paying next to nothing. Economic recovery is supposed to be achieved through further cuts in the spending on medical care, pensions and other social needs. The chief provisions of the joint socio-economic platform put forward by the country's leading trade union centres back at the beginning of July have not yet been taken into full account.

Trade unions have called the Craxi cabinet's attention to two more problems: the backwardness of the South and unemployment among youth. The situation in the south of Italy which accounts for about 40 per cent of the country's population is indeed critical. Crime is rampant and the ranks of the unemployed are growing. For decades the South has been consuming more than it produces. If this continues, the Communists and labour leaders warn, the situation will become explosive. Already 18 per cent of the South's population

live below the official poverty line. Unemployment amounts to 20 per cent. Economists predict that things will get still worse in the near future.

Unfortunately, the problems of the South have found only a slight, if any, reflection in the bill.

Under the circumstances, the trade unions called a general strike in the country on October 14. "What comes next," says Antonio Pizzinato, General Secretary of the General Union of Italian Workers (GUIW), "will largely depend on the government's answers. As it is now, the bill does not suit us."

What is Big Business' position? The General Confederation of Italian Indus-

try (Confindustria), the largest association of industrialists in Italy, is biding its time while keeping its powder dry. Private monopolies are in a strong position: they have concluded a lion's share of the 116 national collective agreements involving over 13 million working people. By now, the terms of the overwhelming majority of these collective agreements have expired. Another 28 agreements will become invalid by the end of this year. The monopolies are not in a hurry to renew them.

"The main question is who has to make sacrifices," Carlo Patrucco, vice-president of the Confindustria, told me. "We think that social welfare spending should be cut, and the money thus released channelled into factory retooling and modernization. What we have so far is a rapid rise in wages."

Though this view is quite widespread among Italian industrialists, here is what Sergio Garavini, General Secretary of FIOM, the metalworkers' union affiliated with the GUIW, has to say on that score:

Milan factory workers striking in protest against the government's economic policies.

TASS photo



THE LEADING FORCE OF OUR TIME

The working class has always been and remains the chief motive force of mankind's progress. An international scientific conference was held in Moscow over October 8-10 to analyze its place and role in the modern world.

Convened on the initiative of the International Working Class Movement Institute under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, the conference was an authoritative and representative forum. It was attended by delegations from over a hundred various organizations of the working people: prominent leaders of

the working-class movement, Communist, Workers', Social Democratic and Labour parties, trade unions of various orientations, revolutionary democratic and other organizations and mass movements. The directors and staff members of many research centres came over from all continents for the conference.

Anatoly Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, told the conference that the problems confronting the international working-class movement can be solved only by a joint effort of all its sections. We are per-

fectly well aware of the differences between them, of course, he said. But we also realize that they have important points in common in their approach to many problems.

In a comradely discussion the conference participants looked into the theoretical, political and practical problems the solution of which the working class, its parties and organizations are interested in: chiefly the problems involved in removing the nuclear threat, in enhancing the potential of the forces of peace, reason and good will. New Times proposes to comment on some of the key issues the conference examined.

By our staff

True Art Is Always a Call to Peace

says Italian film star Giulietta Masina
who recently visited the Soviet Union

"Profits are high in this country, and they keep growing. Labour costs per unit of output are diminishing. Unemployment among the able-bodied population is increasing. Millions of the working people have had their wages frozen or slashed. This is why the renewal of the agreements is becoming the No. 1 socio-political problem for us."

Consequently, the trade unions will have to fight on two fronts: opposing the government's policy, on the one hand, and Big Business' encroachments on the social gains of the working class, on the other. The Italian labour movement has been divided for years, but now trade union centres are getting increasingly aware of the need for joint action.

The Italians are concerned not only over their socio-economic problems, but over the questions of war and peace as well. As he set forth his cabinet's programme, Bettino Craxi pointed out that it demanded an end to nuclear tests. However, his stand on the Strategic Defence Initiative aroused heated debates in parliament. Along with Britain, the F.R.G., Japan and Israel, Italy has subscribed to the "star wars" programme, and on September 19 Rome and Washington signed an official inter-governmental agreement to that effect.

"Now it is more important than ever," Professor Giovanni Battista Marini Bettolo of the University of Rome, a member of the Pontifical Academy of Science, told me, "for everyone—be it a factory worker, a scientist, or an artist—to take vigorous action. After all, peace is equally important to all, and we know from history that it never comes of its own accord.

"Last summer," he went on, "I took part in the Moscow international forum of scientists that discussed the problem of banning nuclear weapon tests. Scientists from 32 countries were unanimous in that all nuclear tests should be banned so as to reduce the risk of civilization's total destruction. I had the honour of presenting the text of the declaration to Mikhail Gorbachev in person. In it we called on the leaders of the nuclear powers—the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. above all—to reach an agreement on banning nuclear tests. Shortly afterwards, the world learned about the Soviet Union's extension of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till the end of the year. These bold actions ought to become an example for others to follow.

"Now is the time," the Professor stressed in conclusion, "to go over from declarations of peace to concrete action."

P. NEGOTSA

Trud's own correspondent,
exclusive for New Times

Rome

Her films, directed by Federico Fellini, her partner and husband of forty years, are established classics of Italian and world cinema. They are part of the intellectual background of several generations of people in this country. Yet, like Fellini, and as demonstrated by the two new films she brought along with her, Giulietta Masina is still full of artistic energy, youthful zest and fantasy.

As an old acquaintance, film critic, long-time student of Italian cinema and translator of Fellini films I was lucky enough to have the opportunity for having several long talks with Ms Masina during her latest visit to the Soviet Union. She answered my questions with the sincerity, warmth and youthful verve that are the hallmark of her personality.

"This is not my first time in Moscow. I came away from the 1959 Moscow Festival with the best actress award for my part in 'Le Notti di Cabiria.' In 1963 I was with Fellini here when his film 'Otto e mezzo' won the top prize. This gave me an ample chance to become aware of the kindness and hospitality of the Soviet people, colleagues and audiences. Though it would seem that thirty years in films should be enough time to get used to success, the hearty welcome I received from the Soviet Film Makers' Union this time, and the meeting with my fellow film makers who packed the hall during the Moscow premiere of 'Ginger e Fred' made me feel

grateful and even a little nonplussed. So much so that I found myself wondering whether I deserved such a reception and

Giulietta Masina as Ginger in the motion picture "Ginger e Fred."



such enthusiasm. I was greeted not just like an actress but like a friend, like someone very dear. I was deeply moved by the enthusiastic applause at the Moscow Cinema House. That was one of the finest evenings of my life as a woman and as an actress."

"What do you think of the idea that was mentioned during your press conference of staging a New Year TV 'bridge' among film makers of different countries in which you and Fellini would take part?"

"It's a great idea. Art knows no frontiers. It would be wonderful if artistes in every field and from all countries gathered together on a huge stage, like in a Fellini film. All the world is an audience."

"It may sound like a terribly hackneyed question but we would like to hear your own account of how you decided to become an actress and how your film career began."

"I didn't decide to become an actress—it was in my blood from early childhood. I come from a family of professors and school teachers, and they wanted me to get a university degree. I participated in amateur theatricals at school and at the university, where I studied archeology. From the university theatre I moved to the professional stage and appeared with various drama theatres in Rome. I took part in radio shows, notably a series of amusing sketches about two lovers called 'Cico e Pallina.' They were written by someone who signed his work as Federico. Later I became acquainted with the chap—Federico Fellini—and we were married that same year during the war in 1943. When he started directing films in 1950 I began to appear in them."

"In addition to your two new pictures, to which I would like to come back to in a moment, the Moscow retrospective included some of your older films that brought you world fame, such as 'La Strada,' 'Le Notti di Cabiria,' 'Giulietta degli Spiriti' and 'Fortunella.' What do you think of these famous pictures today and which one is your favourite?"

"In more than three decades of making films I have had only eight or nine leading roles. Several episodic roles brought me some fame and even prizes. But of course I owe my world fame to Fellini's 'La Strada' and 'Le Notti di Cabiria' and more recently 'Giulietta degli Spiriti.' It is hard for me to say which of the heroines in these films I identify with more—Gelsomina, Cabiria, Giulietta or Fortunella (in a film directed by De Filippo). They are all my little 'sisters' and Fellini's 'daughters.' I was equally fond of all of them and when I ceased to be one I became another, bringing part of my soul to each role. It is important for me to discern a social type

in every character. But the main thing is to get into the character emotionally and to become aware of its humanity and kindness. All the women I play, including my latest heroine, Ginger, are inspired and sustained by love—love for a particular person or love of people and life in general. This is also true of my Camilla, a loving unselfish woman from the TV serial of that title which was shown in the Soviet Union. It is based on Fausta Cialente's novel 'Un inverno freddissimo' ('A Very Cold Winter'). The story takes place in the difficult postwar years. Camilla is her family's only breadwinner and is raising her children in the clutches of poverty and misery. I am drawn to such characters that I feel I may have something in common with and that echo my views on life—also shaped by the postwar realities. That is why I often turn down offers to appear in films, even if they come from famous directors."

"Can you say a few words about 'Fortunatella'? We had read about that picture but we only first saw it here in Moscow."

"It was staged in 1958 by Eduardo De Filippo, the famous Naples dramatist, director and actor (he took a bit part in the play), but the screen version was written specially for me by Fellini and his co-writers. He wanted to give to the heroine, as with Gelsomina and Cabiria before her, some traits that were close to me and that I could get across to the audience. The result was an amusing and unusual character of a young woman, Nanda, nicknamed Fortunella (Lucky One), a kindly soul, a fantasist, but in her own way practical and able to take care of herself. In addition to De Filippo and myself, the film starred Alberto Sordi."

"We are very interested in Fellini's latest film, 'Ginger e Fred,' in which you play opposite Marcello Mastroianni for the first time. What is the most important thing about this film for you?"

"That it is a love story, like the other films in which I starred. My heroine, Ginger, is in the same category with Gelsomina, Cabiria, Fortunella, and Giulietta who is possessed by 'spirits.' She is in love and her kindness helps her to be courageous and cheerful. So, it is the human message of the character that matters. Besides, I would suggest that this film about two old tap dancers who were once in love and meet after many years, is not tragic. It is nostalgic, melancholic, and sad, but not tragic. It is a love story, and young people also feel sad when they part."

"But doesn't this moving love story, like all Fellini's films, also have an ironic, sometimes satirical edge to it?"

"You mean the world of private television to which Ginger and Fred are exposed when a TV show invites them to do their once famous tap-dancing routine? Yes, there is a touch of satire in the way this background is shown,



Stills from some of the films in which Giulietta Masina starred.

and this gives the picture contemporary relevance. Private television has invaded the lives of Italians, which has both negative and positive sides to it."

"Such as the lack of respect for the actors and guests taking part in the show. Italian reviewers of the film have noted that it is not by chance that the owner of the firm who advertises ham on television is named Fulvio Lombardoni, which sounds like the name of Silvio Berlusconi of Lombardia, the king of private television. What do you think of the state of things in Italian cinema and television?"

"Of course there are some difficulties. I believe that all trends and schools have the right to exist so long as they produce genuine art. It is the question of artistes, masters. Neorealism created major works through such masters as Visconti, Rossellini, and De Sica. Then came Fellini. Italian-style comedy also claims some achievements, etc. I hope that Italian television will get its masters, and in general I believe in the

future of television. On the whole Federico's criticism of television in this film is friendly and not too harsh. But I am an actress and not a film critic, and besides I am the director's wife, so I'd better not talk about it."

"Tell us then how you managed to do so well in the dance scenes?"

"Marcello and I practised tap dancing

always turns out to be right: he sees the whole film and I see only a scene or a detail. Mastroianni is the ideal actor for him. Over the years, Marcello has come to know Fellini's character and methods well enough to calmly wait for his directions, which he then follows obediently and precisely with remarkable results. Although this was the

"How well familiar are you with the Russian classics and Soviet literature and cinema?"

"I am very fond of Russian classics. I had always wanted to play Katyusha Maslova. Unfortunately, I know very little about Soviet literature or cinema. I liked your films 'Sadko,' 'The Lady with the Dog' and 'The Cranes Are Flying.' I was also impressed by the documentary about the siege of Leningrad. Chekhov's plays introduced me to Russian theatre and the characters of Russian women whom I find so appealing."

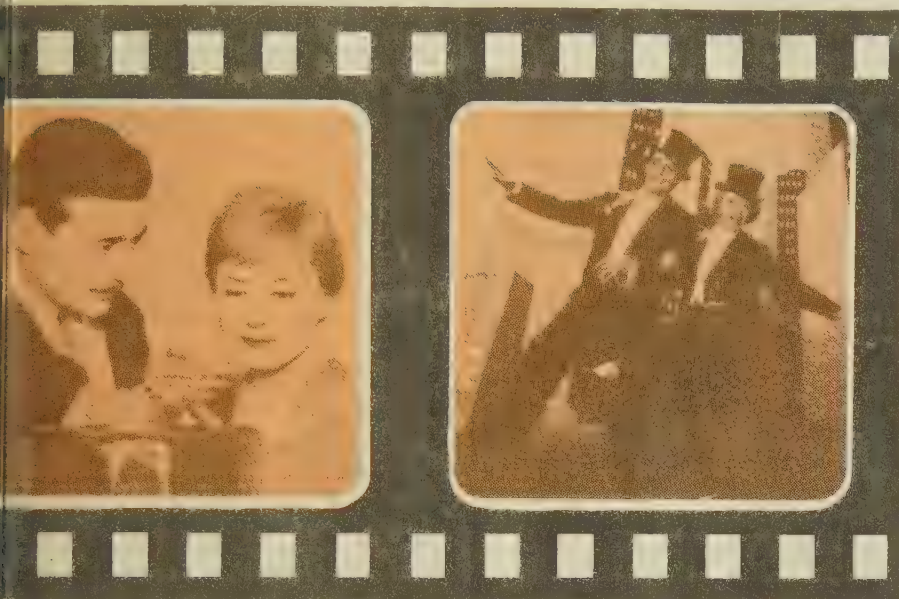
"How do you feel about following the good example of Marcello Mastroianni who is currently doing a Soviet-Italian film 'Dark Eyes,' directed by Nikita Mikhalkov?"

"It is not by chance that I look attentively at Soviet women in the crowd, your women journalists and the girls on television—they have such kind and feminine faces. I feel that Russian women are capable of great love and self-sacrifice. But in day-to-day life they are probably practical, efficient and independent. Of course their husbands know best. I think Camilla in the TV serial I made is similar to your women. As for being in a Soviet-Italian film or TV movie, I might as well spill the beans: I have tried to set the rumour circulating in Moscow that I would welcome such a chance. I did it in a television interview so it is likely to spread far. But of course I can only speak Italian."

"This is no obstacle to communication at the artistic and interpersonal level and in joint work. My last question is what is the significance of such film exchanges? What is the artiste's role in today's tension-ridden and dangerous world?"

"Not only cinema, but art in every form—literature, the theatre, poetry (in all these you are real masters and teachers)—must give to people humanity, kindness, tolerance, and the desire to unite and understand each other. Every work of true art, whether it be a book, a painting or a film—is always a plea for peace. I'd like to wish film viewers and readers good health, which is the first condition of happiness, and good work for all of us. Good health for the whole humanity means peace on Earth."

Interviewed
by G. BOGEMSKY



for several months. Although I am very fond of ballet, I am not a professional dancer. As a result I lost so much weight that I had to eat a lot to get back into my usual form. But I was never short of wind on the set. It is a pity that Federico cut down on the dance scenes and so much of our effort was wasted."

"Does the way you work with Federico differ from the way you work with other directors?"

"Yes, very much. With other directors I discuss the whole film in advance, read the script, argue and make suggestions. With Federico we are silent, the idea being that after so many years of married life and working together we should be able to read each other's minds. But this is not always the case and Federico is angry when I do something differently from the way he wanted, although he never told me how in the first place. And, on the other hand, I may feel angry and never tell him. In general he is a taciturn man. I have often sworn never to argue with him or give advice on the film set, but sometimes I cannot control my emotions. Federico always listens to me calmly and then proceeds to do it his own way. But he

first time I appeared with Marcello in a film, we are actually old friends, having played together at the university. And now the three of us came together on the film set of 'Ginger e Fred.'"

"In addition to Fellini, you have appeared in films by other directors in Italy and abroad—in Britain, the F.R.G., and Czechoslovakia. Tell us about your work with the Czech director Juraj Jakubisko in 'Madam Holle,' which we all enjoyed seeing at the closing of the retrospective."

"When I saw his film 'Thousand Year-Old Bee' I realized that Juraj Jakubisko was a very talented director."

"Yes, it attracted notice at the previous Moscow Film Festival."

"Jakubisko's poetic vision and manner are somewhat reminiscent of Fellini. This may be why he offered me the part of the Fairy (Madam Holle) in a film based on a tale by the Grimm Brothers. The film is a tale for children and grownups alike. In addition to spectacle, imaginative directing, and tricks and effects of Czech folklore there is a philosophical and humanistic message: virtue is rewarded and evil must be punished."

The word "restructuring" has appeared in the Soviet political vocabulary. You keep using it with regard to many different spheres of the Soviet Union's life. What does this term mean? Why has it become so fashionable in your country? Kindly explain this to me.

Ravindra VENKATRAMAN
Haiderabad, India



VLADIMIR KADULIN
Kommunist magazine
editorial board member,
replies:

The word "restructuring" stands for processes characterizing the style of life in our country today and which, therefore, aroused great interest abroad. Your letter, Mr Venkatraman, is fresh evidence of this. Essentially peaceful by definition, this word has become part and parcel of the Soviet people's political vocabulary since the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which marked a turning point in the life of the nation.

A word full of meaning, "restructuring" has come to rank with the word "revolution" that is so dear to the Soviet people. The essence of the idea is to learn to think and work in a new way, that is, in a way that makes it possible to realize fully the potentialities and advantages of socialism, to speed up its progress, to make the Soviet people's life fuller and richer.

The 27th CPSU Congress stressed the key role restructuring must play in accelerating the country's socio-economic development and in imparting, as a result, an entirely new quality to socialist society. "Neither the working class, the peasantry, technical experts, nor the professionals," Mikhail Gorbachev told the activists of the Khabarovsk Territory CPSU organization, "want to live in the old way any longer, to put up with what has become antiquated and what impedes our advance." There is no alternative either in the home or foreign policy sphere to the strategy of acceleration. Restructuring, therefore, is the opposite of "gradualness," of petty and timid

"improvements"; it is a synonym for a radical advance.

The current, twelfth, five-year plan provides for a new technological reconstruction of industry, for profound structural changes in the socialist economy, for its steady intensification. An all-out acceleration of scientific and technological progress and the restructuring of the present economic mechanism are to provide the groundwork for economic growth of a qualitatively different type. The idea of confining ourselves to a face-lift has long been discarded, though, unfortunately, this still retains some advocates among economists and economic managers. Our Party seeks to make all production units economically independent, to ensure a normal and healthy functioning of money-commodity relations based on socialist principles. All this will enable us to improve (and not just in words) planning practice in the management of the economy and other spheres, to consolidate democratic centralism and to do away with bureaucratic over-centralization.

The social sphere is also to undergo a radical restructuring. Our social policy focusses on the individual, whose harmonious development is the main objective and the decisive factor of social progress. The success of acceleration depends on how strictly we observe the principles of social justice and on how resolutely we fight against any violations of moral and ethical norms, against the gaining of unearned income and other such negative phenomena. Restructuring is under way as well in every single section of the Soviet political system, whose purpose is essentially to further democratize public life, to consolidate law and order and promote self-government by the people.

As you see, we have an ambitious and extremely complicated programme to carry out. It can be made

TAKING UP A POINT

a reality only if people's thinking undergoes a revolution, if outdated views and notions are discarded and if everyone comes to realize that it is he who is the master of his country and his fate. Psychological restructuring means a reappraisal of values. It calls for an end to a doctrinaire and dogmatic view of socialism.

The post-congress period abounds in evidence of further advances made in all spheres—political, economic and spiritual—of a steady rise in the masses' political self-awareness, of the Soviet people's enthusiastic support for all innovative initiatives, and of their determination to make restructuring universal. At the same time we must admit that the process of restructuring comes up against certain obstacles, that along with those who enthusiastically welcome the wind of change there are a number who, though aware of the need to work in a new way, do not know how to go about restructuring. And, of course, there are those who fail to see the meaning of the changes now in progress, who prefer to wait and see or who simply do not believe the Party will succeed in carrying out the reforms it has conceived.

What are the prerequisites for a speedy realization of these changes? Well, our Party sees them in the enhancement of its role as the vanguard of society, in the Communists' ever greater labour and political activity. Under the present circumstances it is especially important for them to, as Lenin taught, make fuller use of their authority, energy, experience, versatility and talent. The radical restructuring of Party work and the bold reviewing of its forms and methods basically consist in turning to the people and a shift of emphasis to practical creative effort. This is the decisive prerequisite for the success of the endeavour referred to as restructuring.

The Champion Retains His Title

On October 10, Garri Kasparov was garlanded with laurels at a ceremony in Leningrad. Having won the rematch with Anatoly Karpov with the score at 12.5-11.5, he has retained the world title.

This was the third match for the world chess crown between Kasparov and Karpov during the last two years. It proceeded in a tense struggle and abounded in dramatic moments. The most interesting psychological duel kept millions of chess devotees in suspense.

The rivals began—in London—by drawing the first three games, then exchanged victories. Of the subsequent seven games, only one was effective—game 8, in which Kasparov got the upper hand. After a week's interval with the score at 6.5-5.5 in favour of the world champion, the rematch was resumed in Leningrad. But now the pace and rhythm of the struggle sharply changed: five games out of seven proved effective, with the score standing at 9.5-all before game 20.

This intermediate result had been achieved by the opponents, with each having his own ups and downs: game 13 was drawn. Kasparov won game 14. Game 15 was also drawn. The champion gained a victory in game 16, increas-

ing his lead to three points.

It had seemed that the outcome of the rematch was a foregone conclusion, with few people having any doubts about it. Nevertheless, the former world champion displayed a surprising will and fighting spirit, managing to gain three victories—in games 17, 18 and 19—in succession. What kind of errors from the standpoint of chess theory had Kasparov made? One can tell this with precision only after making a thorough analysis of all his moves. What is obvious even now, however, is this: Kasparov, just as many of the admirers of his talent, believed that he had clinched the match, and he relaxed attention. But one does not usually get away with that in competition at top level.

With four games yet to be played, a situation shaped up, where the opponents had to start the match anew as it were. And it was obvious that he would win who had stronger nerves. Kasparov is 12 years younger than his rival. This factor, even if it was not a decisive one, enabled



Cartoon by I. Smirnov

him to preserve more energy and put up a better performance at the home stretch.

After the three setbacks in a row, Kasparov, as he would later say at a press conference, set the task not to lose a fourth game. Therefore, in game 20 he forced a quick, conflict-free draw. Kasparov also admitted after the match that he lost the three ill-starred games owing to a desire to play more beautifully, as he had thought the match clinch-

ed. And this had let him down.

Now that we began to discuss the reasons for reverses, it will be not out of place here to quote Karpov as saying this after the event: "I was excellently prepared for the rematch. On the whole, I played well with Kasparov, even in game 8, where I overstepped. Time trouble let me down more than once."

In order to regain the world title, Karpov had to win one game and to draw the other three of the remaining four. The champion would be content with drawing all the four games left. Under these circumstances, it proved too difficult a task for Karpov to get real chances of victory. But he tried his level best. Kasparov, however, put up a splendid defence, particularly in game 21. As far as game 22 is concerned, it was, probably, his highest achievement in the rematch. It deserves a detailed account.

In a classical variation of the Queen's Gambit, the world champion played at the opening stage with reserve and

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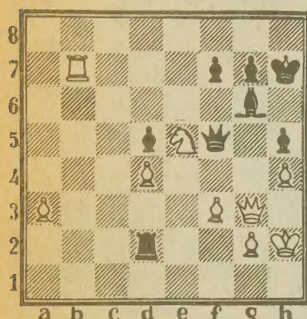
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great respect for the opponent and succeeded in obtaining a slight edge. Though Karpov's defence was very precise, his opponent kept on creating various threats now on the Q-side, now on the K-side or in the centre. The last few moves before adjournment were played in time pressure. It seemed at one time that Karpov managed to equalize the chances. When the game was adjourned, however, Kasparov still had an advantage. But much depended on the world champion's 41st sealed move. Here is the position in which the game was adjourned:



It transpired that Kasparov had sealed a brilliant Knight move after spending 17 minutes on thinking it over. It proved so strong that, when play was resumed, it took the opponents a mere three minutes to play the concluding six moves.

And now for the text of game 22 move-by-move:

Queen's Gambit

Kasparov —
White

Karpov —
Black

1. d4 Nf6 2. c4 e6 3. Nf3 d5 4. Nc3 Be7 5. Bg5 h6 6. Bxf6 Bxf6 7. e3 0-0 8. Rc1 c6 9. Bd3 Nd7 10. 0-0 dxc4 11. Bxc4 e5 12. h3 exd4 13. exd4 Nb6 14. Bb3 Bf5 15. Re1 a5 16. a3 Re8 17. Rxe8+ Qxe8 18. Qd2 Nd7 19. Qf4 Bg6 20. h4 Qd8 21. Na4 h5 22. Re1 b5 23. Nc3 Qb8 24. Qe3 b4 25. Ne4 bxa3 26. Nxf6+ Nxf6 27. bxa3 Nd5 28. Bxd5 cxd5 29. Ne5 Qd8 30. Qf3 Ra6 31. Rc1 Kh7 32. Qh3 Rb6 33. Rc8 Qd6 34. Qg3 a4

35. Ra8 Qe6 36. Rxa4 Qf5. 37. Ra7 Rb1+ 38. Kh2 Rc1 39. Rb7 Rc2 40. f3 Rd2 41. Nd7 Rxd4 42. Nf8+ Kh6 43. Rb4 Rc4 44. Rxc4 dxc4 45. Qd6 c3 46. Qd4 Black resigns.

One should mention a great variety of openings employed in the rematch. Both opponents gave new interpretations of well-known variations and helped a number of sections of chess theory forward. As for strategy in the middle game, Kasparov and Karpov waged the struggle splendidly, making many chess maestros present at the rematch admire their art.

When very strong players meet over the chessboard, such a trifling matter as playing White is at times of decisive importance: of the 24 games, White won eight, whereas Black only one. An insignificant number of adjourned games was another distinctive feature of the rematch. Kasparov and Karpov battled it out so actively in the middle game as to make the position often perfectly well defined by the 40th move.

The champion showed a high standard of mastery of the game of chess at every stage and the brilliant ability to create combinational threats and mount decisive attacks involving the sacrifices of pawns and pieces. At the same time, he acted much more successfully in positions where a combinative player usually finds performance boring. Maybe, it is precisely this circumstance that largely predetermined his victory in the rematch with the former world champion, for, indeed, Karpov had earlier been unmatched in calm positional play.

At the concluding press conference, Kasparov said that he had believed in success and was happy to have proved that his victory last year had been no accident. Speaking of the opponent's performance, the world champion emphasized that Anatoly Karpov, as before, is very strong in clearly defined positions and that his play is distinguish-

ed by a great many good points. One can only envy his tenacity in defence, for example.

The rematch evoked keen interest all over the world. Here are just some comments made upon it:

International Grandmaster Svetozar Gligoric of Yugoslavia: "Both chess players showed high standards of creative, resourceful play. The struggle was unpredictable."

The newspaper Nepszabadsag: "Kasparov has retained the world title and proved by his romantic style that even against the background of the present-day stream of information in chess and the grandmasters' excellent knowledge of theory it is possible to demonstrate unusual play."

The Czechoslovak newspaper Praca: "Chess has been enriched with fresh ideas."

The New York Post: This has been one of the most dramatic and brilliant matches ever played.

International Grandmaster Lothar Schmid of the Federal Republic of Germany, chief umpire at the rematch: "I am happy to have been the umpire of an outstanding event in the history of chess. The standard of play was exceptionally high and the chess players' conduct splendid."

What plans do Kasparov and Karpov have for the future?

Kasparov, who is now, in effect, twice world champion, can take part in competitive chess events of his own liking. Late in the autumn of 1987, however, he will have to defend his title in a match with another challenger. But against whom?

According to the amended FIDE rules for the current cycle of competition, International Grandmaster Andrei Sokolov of the U.S.S.R., the winner of the challengers' elimination round, is to meet in the super-finals with former world champion Anatoly Karpov. The point is that, as the "showdown" between Kasparov and Karpov dragged on,

neither of them, in the event of a failure in the rematch, would have managed to go through the challengers' elimination round. Therefore, Karpov has been offered the opportunity to play a match with the winner of the challengers' tournament.

The Karpov-Sokolov match has been fixed for next February. Of course, Karpov has much more experience of performance in matches than his younger opponent, but Sokolov is a very gifted, up-and-coming chess player. Therefore, it is expected that the struggle will be a very tough one.

Within the next few weeks, we all of us shall be following with interest competition at the World Chess Olympiad. It is supposed that both participants in the rematch—world champion Garri Kasparov and former world champion Anatoly Karpov will be players in the U.S.S.R. national team.

And now a few more words in conclusion. The Kasparov-Karpov rematch was not just a contest for the world title. The event at top level is also of great importance for the further popularization of chess, which has now spread to every corner of the world. Those keen on this ancient game are yet to study the games played in London and Leningrad, with the best of these becoming part of the golden treasury of the art of chess.

The match is over. Nowadays, for some time, the attention of fans will shift to routine chess affairs. My colleagues will recall that there are chess libraries, where one can examine the games of other world championship matches and classical chess masterpieces. Chess is not only a game between two players, but also a possibility of studying the games of others, of training a younger generation of chess players, as also the joy of communication and the quest for new ideas.

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